

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE
CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND

*From 1593, and the Extinction of the Hierarchy in
1603, till the Death of Bishop Carruthers
in 1852,*

BY

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PIUS IX AND HIS TIME; LETTERS AND LECTURE ON THE BRITISH
COLONIES; AN ESSAY ON THE POETS OF CANADA; THE NORTH
WEST TERRITORY AND BRITISH COLUMBIA; THE TEMPORAL
SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPE; ST. VINCENT DE PAUL; ZENOBIA;
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TO HIS
FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN
THIS WORK
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY THEIR
VERY HUMBLE AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It is shown in the following sketches, that some time after the "Reformation" was introduced into Scotland, Catholics were still numerous and powerful. Their supporters could lead armies into the field, fight battles and win victories in their defence. This contested but glorious existence, is contrasted with the extreme depression—annihilation, it may be said, to which the Church was reduced, when her enemies could say, and with so much truth, that she was extinguished. The slow but steady restoration to new life, like the rising of the fabled Phœnix from its ashes, is then dwelt upon at length, until, notwithstanding popular hate and hostile legislation, the great Institution, which was fated not to perish, attained to that highly advanced condition which is the consolation and joy, in our more enlightened age, of hosts of friends and adherents.

The historical sketches which make up this volume, appeared from week to week in the *Catholic Record*, a Canadian publication. Several persons of Scottish origin having expressed a desire to possess them in the form of a book, the author, in compliance with

their wish, undertook the work and cost of publishing. Such as are familiar with the memoirs, records and histories on which the volume is founded, will find in it nothing new. To most Canadian readers of Scottish descent, who take an interest in the Church and history of Scotland, it will prove, the author hopes, a source of pleasure and information.

CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND.

CAP. I.

NUMBER AND POWER OF CATHOLICS IN 1692—THE KIRK OBTAINS A CHARTER—NO TOLERATION—CATHOLIC WORSHIP PUT DOWN BY LAW—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INTRIGUES AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—CATHOLICS SEEK THE AID OF SPAIN—THEIR AGENT ARRESTED—THE "SPANISH BLANKS"—KING JAMES OPPOSES THE ENGLISH FACTION—HIS LENIENCY TO THE BARONS—THE KIRK DISSATISFIED—THE PURPOSE OF THE MINISTERS TO PERSECUTE RESISTED BY THE KING—THEY, IN CONSEQUENCE, REFUSE ALL AID IN PRESERVING ORDER—FEARFUL ANARCHY—THE "REFORMED NOBILITY."

About the time of the extinction of the Hierarchy Catholics were still numerous and powerful in Scotland. "The Roman Catholic Party," says Mr. Fraser Tytler, "although apparently subdued and silent, were still powerful in the Kingdom. There was no reason why this large and powerful body of men should despair of success, but rather the contrary." As proof of this, Mr. Tytler refers to a remarkable paper in the hand of Lord Burghley, drawn up

apparently for his own guidance, which brings forward in clear contrast the comparative strength of the Catholic and Protestant parties in Scotland. We learn from this paper that "all the Northern part of the Kingdom, including the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland and Aberdeen, with Moray, and the Sheriffdoms of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigtown and of Nithsdale, were, either wholly or for the greater part, in the interest of the Roman Catholic Party, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that Faith, and directed in their movements by Jesuits and Priests, who were concealed in various parts of the country, especially in Angus. On the other hand, the counties of Perth and Stirling, the populous Shire of Fife and the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton and Renfrew, including the rich district of Clydesdale, were, with few exceptions, Protestant, whilst the counties of Ayr and Linlithgow, were dubious and could not be truly ranged either on one side or the other." (Fraser Tytler hist. of Scot. vol. 7. p. 160.) Hence, there was between the parties a drawn battle which King James was unable to bring to an end, so uncertain, at the time, was his policy. He deemed it impossible to attempt anything serious against either party, and so judged it prudent to temporize and keep up the two factions, balancing the one against the other.

In 1592 the faction of the Kirk were determined to obtain a solemn legislative establishment of the Presbyterian system of Church government. Their assembly accordingly presented to Parliament the following articles or requests to the King: I. That the Acts of Parliament passed in 1584 against the discipline and liberty of the Kirk should be repealed, and the present discipline be ratified.

II. That the Act of Annexation should be abolished, and the patrimony of the Kirk restored.

III. That abbots, priors and other prelates pretending to ecclesiastical authority, and giving their votes in matters, without any delegated authority from the Kirk, should not be permitted to vote in parliament or any other convention; and, lastly,

IV. That the land, which was polluted by fearful idolatry and bloodshed, should be purged. The King was well aware that any concession in this direction, would increase the power of the ministers, and much danger was to be apprehended from the turbulence and independence of these bold and able men. Moved, however, by the advice and influence of Chancellor Maitland, he, from policy rather than affection, assented to the odious measure. The Act is still known as "the charter of the liberties of the Kirk."

The ministers might now have been satisfied. For,

in addition to the advantage which they had gained, the Catholics were inclined to remain at peace and refrain from all practices against the religion of the State, on the one condition that they should not be persecuted on account of their adherence to the ancient Faith. The divine principle of toleration was not yet recognized. Everything that Catholics did was, in the estimation of the Kirk, anti-Christian and idolatrous. "A single case of Catholic worship, however secret, was strictly prohibited; the attendance of a solitary individual at a single Mass in the remotest district of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the most secluded chamber and where none could come but such as knelt before the altar for conscience sake, and in all sincerity of soul, was a crime against the State and the Kirk. Such worship and its toleration for an hour, was considered an open encouragement of Antichrist and idolatry." (Fraser Tytler.) It was not only praiseworthy but a high point of religious duty to extinguish the Mass forever, and to compel its supporters to embrace what the fanatics of the Kirk so absurdly called *the purity of Presbyterian truth*. In order to accomplish this impossible iniquity, every criminal appliance was had recourse to,—imprisonment, banishment, forfeiture. The wild fanaticism of the time stopped not short even at the taking of life. In order to enforce

these penalties the whole apparatus of the Kirk, now supported by the State, and all the machinery of detection and persecution, were ruthlessly employed.

Need it be wondered at that the Catholics, under the lash of such savage persecution, were roused to opposition? or that they plotted for the overthrow of the Government which patronized it? The Kirk availed itself of the aid of a foreign power in forwarding its evil purposes. And the Queen of England was only too glad to have their co-operation in the base intrigues which she was constantly carrying on for the extirpation of the Catholic religion in Scotland through her ambassador and other agents at the Scottish Court. The Catholic Party in Scotland, seeing that the Kirk scrupled not to employ against them the influence of a foreign court, resolved on a similar policy. As their adversaries obtained the support of the powerful patroness of Protestantism, the Queen of England, they thought it no wrong to seek the assistance of Catholic Spain. They sent an Envoy, most injudiciously, it cannot but be said, to negotiate with the King of that country and induce him to send an armed force to aid them. This Envoy was Mr. George Kerr, a Catholic gentleman and brother of the Abbot of Newbottle. Mr. Kerr had reached the Cumrays, two small islands in the estuary of the Clyde, when he was overtaken by

a warlike minister who, at the head of an armed band, had started in search of him from Paisley, and arrested him in the night as he had stepped on board the vessel which was to convey him to Spain. His luggage was searched, packets of letters found, and he himself carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. At first he denied everything, and, as he had many friends, was likely to escape, when an order was given that, according to the barbarous usage of the time, he should be put to the torture. On the second stroke of the cruel boots, he made a full confession, from which it appeared that the main object of his mission was to obtain the descent of a Spanish force on the coast of Scotland. This armament was to be joined by the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus, with Sir Patrick Gordon of Auhendown, uncle to Huntly and other Catholic barons. In the letters seized there were found several signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus. These signatures were at the bottom of blank sheets of paper, having the seals of the three barons attached to them, and were to be filled up by Mr. Kerr according to verbal instructions. They were, on his arrival at Madrid, to be delivered to the King of Spain. The plot is known in history by the name of the "Spanish blanks." There was an air of mystery about this discovery which gave occasion to much terror and exaggeration. The

Kirk was greatly excited, and communicated the excitement to its adherents. The first result was a proclamation that all Jesuits, seminary priests, and "excommunicates," should within three hours leave the city on pain of death. A convention of the Protestant nobility and gentry was held, and with the ministers at their head, proceeded to the palace, and demanded instant prosecution of the traitors. Mr. Kerr was spared through the powerful intervention of the Queen of Scotland and the influential House of Seton. He finally escaped. But Graham, of Fintray was committed to prison, and the trial and forfeiture of Angus were considered certain. In return for the vigorous prosecution of all concerned in the "Spanish blanks," King James required that his traitorous enemy, the Earl of Bothwell, who was at the time plotting against him and the Catholics in concert with Queen Elizabeth, should be attacked and punished on account of treasons even more flagrant than those of the Catholic Earls. This could not be refused. The King, now confident in his power to overthrow Earl Bothwell and Queen Elizabeth's faction, discharged the vials of his wrath on Mr. Bowes, the intriguing English ambassador, who, no less than his Royal Mistress, was an accomplice of Bothwell. The King now raised an army and marching against the Spanish Barons, who had withdrawn to their

strongholds in the north, defeated them without a battle ; but dealt leniently with them to the great vexation of Queen Elizabeth and her friends, the ministers of the Kirk. Their persons were safe in the fastnesses of Caithness. Their patrimonial interest and rights of succession were considered to be still entire, and part of their estates were in friendly hands. Lord Burgh, an English agent at the court of Scotland, wrote to Burghly, a minister of Queen Elizabeth, that the King "dissembled a confiscation," and would leave the rebels in full strength.

The members of the Kirk were greatly dissatisfied with the leniency shown by the King to the rebel Barons. They went so far as to attack him in the pulpit, and even threw out surmises of his secret inclination to "Popery." Notwithstanding all this, the party of the ministers of the Kirk was the only one on which King James could rely, with the exception of some of the lesser Barons and the Burghs. The higher nobles were at variance with one another, and some of them at deadly enmity with the King. The ministers required as a condition of their support, that His Majesty should labour with them for the destruction of the Catholic Earls and the entire extirpation of the Catholic Faith. To such a cruel and sweeping act of persecution, King James decidedly refused to consent.

The Catholics were still numerous and powerful. They counted in their ranks thirteen of the higher nobility of Scotland and a large proportion of the people in the Northern counties. To destroy them was no easy task. The ministers, nevertheless, were bold enough to undertake it; and they spared no pains in order to force the King to give them his countenance and aid. That he refused to do so will not appear astonishing when it is considered what the measures were for the carrying out of which they desired his co-operation. The cruelty and intolerance of the ministers' demands will be best learned from their own words. They represented "that seeing the increase of 'Papistry,' daily within the realm, it was craved of His Majesty and his Council and his nobility, at the time assembled, that all 'Papists' within the land may be punished according to the laws of God and of the kingdom. That the Act of Parliament might strike upon all manner of men, landed or unlanded, in office or not, as it at present strikes against beneficed persons. That a declaration be made against all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and trafficking 'Papists,' pronouncing them guilty of treason; and that the penalties of the Act may be enforced against all persons who conceal or harbour them, not for three days, as it now stands, but for any time whatsoever; that all such

persons as the Kirk had found to be 'Papists,' although they be not excommunicated, should be debarred from occupying any office within the realm, as also from access to His Majesty's company, or enjoying any benefit of the laws; that, upon this declaration the pains of treason and other civil pains should follow, as upon the sentence of excommunication; and that an Act of Council should be passed to this effect, which in the next Parliament should be made law." In order to induce the King to comply with these extravagant demands, they offered, in return for his compliance, to place "their bodies, goods, friends, allies, servants and possessions wholly at his service in any way in which he should be pleased to employ them." They offered, moreover, to provide a body guard for the Royal person and to pay the same; but, from funds levied from the possessions of Catholics.

To such cruel persecution King James would by no means consent. As was to be expected, the ministers resented his refusal; and shewed their *animus* by withdrawing all their aid and co-operation in maintaining law and order. The people, adherents of the Kirk, were now left without any other guide than such principles of morality as the Calvinistic ministers were accustomed to inculcate. The consequence was a near approach to anarchy and a total disorganization of society.

"The capital," says Mr. Fraser Tytler, "presented almost daily scenes of outrage and confusion. The security and sanctity of domestic life were invaded and despised; ruffians, under the command of, and openly protected by the nobles, (such as adhered to the Kirk), tore honourable maidens from the bosom of their families and carried them off in open day." The violent and criminal conduct of James Gray, a brother of the notorious master of Gray, may be quoted as shewing how the patrons of the new or reformed religion set an example of obedience to the ten commandments. This hopeful disciple of the Kirk, seized a young lady named Carnegie, who was an heiress, and, at the time, living in her father's house, and hurried her, by force, down a close or narrow street to the North Loch. He then delivered her to a band of armed men, who dragged her into a boat, her hair hanging about her face and her clothes almost torn from her person. Meanwhile, Gray's associate, Lord Hume, kept the streets with his retainers, beat off the Lord Provost, who in the execution of his duty attempted a rescue. In the *melee* which took place, some citizens who presumed to interfere with the noble proceeding of nobility were slain. This was not all. The Lord Provost carried his complaint before the King in presence of his courtiers. Said His Majesty to the Provost:

"Do you see here any of my nobles whom you can accuse?" Lord Hume was standing close to King James, and looked so savagely at the Provost that the magistrate encountering his fierce eye did not dare to impeach him, but retired terror-struck, silent and abashed. The Gray here mentioned was a member of the King's household. He was assisted in his exploit by Sir James Sandilands and other courtiers. The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar were playing tennis near the scene of the outrage, but abstained from interfering. So much for the *reformed* nobility.

Such an atrocious insulting of the laws and the inability of the King and the Chief Magistrate of the capital to punish criminals made a deep and unfavorable impression on Queen Elizabeth's minister, Burghley, and induced him to write: "A miserable state that may cause us to bless ours and our government." Such remarks came well from parties who murdered citizens every other day *according to law*, for religion's sake.

And what are we to think of *ministers of peace*, for such they pretended to be, who contrary to what they believed, or affected to believe to be their duty, refused to obey their sovereign, who required of them that they should concur with him in maintaining peace and order in a community so seriously disturbed by their innovations.

CAP. II.

QUEEN ELIZABETH SEEKS THE AID OF THE CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND—KING JAMES FAVOURS THE CATHOLICS—EARL HUNTLY, A CATHOLIC, MASTER IN ARGYLE'S COUNTRY—THE KING PUNISHES THE KIRK AND EARL BOTHWELL—THE CATHOLIC EARLS BOLDER THAN EVER—THEIR AGENT, KERR, AVENGED—POPULARITY OF THE CATHOLIC EARLS—SAVED BY THE KING FROM THE INJUSTICE OF THE KIRK—THE KING SUSPECTED BY THE MINISTERS OF BECOMING A CATHOLIC—HIS ZEAL FOR THE "TRUE RELIGION"—HIS EXTRAORDINARY MODE OF PACIFICATION OFFENDS BOTH PARTIES—SCOLDED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH—HE WOULD NOT BE DICTATED TO BY A PRINCESS WHO SO VIOLENTLY PERSECUTED HER CATHOLIC SUBJECTS—THE CATHOLIC EARLS DRIVEN INTO REBELLION—THE BIRTH OF AN HEIR—FANTASTIC CELEBRATION—THE KING LEADS AN ARMY AGAINST THE REBELS, WHOM LORD BOTHWELL PROPOSES TO AID.

At this time (1593) the Catholic Party in Scotland was so powerful and important that the arch-enemy of Catholics, Queen Elizabeth, was glad to seek their favour. This powerful Queen, together with her

ministers, Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil entered into a secret communication with the Earl of Huntly and the Catholic Party with a view to keep up her faction in Scotland, which she had always so much at heart. Notwithstanding her protestations that she was guided solely by zeal for the glory of God and the interests of the "*true Religion*," Mr. Bowes, her ambassador in Scotland, declared that a coalition between the Catholics and her protege, Earl Bothwell, would highly offend the ministers of the Kirk who would "greatly start and wonder hereat." Besides, how could he reconcile such a measure with his instructions to prosecute the "*Papistical*" rebels? How could he allow Huntly's uncle, a priest and a Jesuit, to steal quietly out of Scotland, and nevertheless, satisfy the Kirk and the Protestant leaders that he (Bowes) was an enemy of the idolators. It need hardly be said the proposed coalition never took place. Meanwhile, King James, having overcome his great enemy, Earl Bothwell, who had so often plotted and intrigued against him, and having dealt leniently with him, allowing him to enjoy his revenues provided he absented himself from the kingdom, and pardoning the accomplices of his late treasons, was now more powerful than ever. He could now afford to show some favour to the Catholic leaders. He invited the Countess of Huntly to his court, permitted the

Catholic Earls, Angus and Erroll, to visit their friends without molestation, and, as was strongly asserted at the time, consented to hold a secret interview with Huntly at his palace at Falkland. Huntly had become an experienced warrior, and for several months had kept the whole of Argyle's country in terror and subjection. He had also had great promises of support from Spain which did not hinder King James from believing, that, with so powerful a chief and Hume on his side, he need not fear the Earls Bothwell and Athole, or their allies. Measures now followed, in quick succession, that were well calculated to shew that the King was both able and determined to punish the insults which had been heaped upon him by the faction of the Kirk and Earl Bothwell. Hume, a Catholic, was appointed Captain of the King's body guard. The ministers were preparing a process of excommunication against this powerful Baron. The King required that they should abandon it. The three Catholic Earls, Huntly, Angus and Erroll, although not yet admitted at Court, appeared in public openly and with full confidence. Angus visited Morton in Fifeshire and advised him to join his party, as it was now so strong that it would soon be able to force a union. Even George Kerr, who had suffered so much in connection with the "Spanish blanks," came on the scene, appearing near Dalkeith,

with a troop of eighty horse. He warned Lord Ross tenants to abstain from their labours in order to save their houses from being burned. Ross' men had assisted in the capture of Kerr and he himself was rewarded with a grant of land called Melville, and other lands around Newbottle which belonged to the Kerrs. These events were not altogether unimportant. The ministers noticed them in the pulpit; for these watchmen of the Kirk had a keen eye for detecting the current of court favour that was now setting in towards "Popery." So much so was this the case, that the ministers strongly asseverated, but without grounds, that the King had serious intentions of becoming a convert to the Catholic faith. It was not even in his mind to permit the public exercise of this religion to any of his subjects. His great object was to counteract the unprincipled policy of Queen Elizabeth, who constantly aimed at weakening Scotland by causing discord and divisions among the nobility. Now that James was once more free and a powerful monarch, he resolved to reconcile all the feuds of the Barons and unite the parties that had been hitherto so strongly opposed to one another. How violently adverse to this wise policy the supporters of the English Queen were, we learn from a letter of Mr. Carey, Governor of Berwick and a son of Lord Hunsdon, a near relative of the Queen.

He expressed the fervent hope that the day might never arrive which shall see the Scottish nobles "linked together in peace." The letter referred to is as follows:—"I know not well what to say; but, this I am sure, the King doth too much *appose*, lean on, or rely, (apponere) himself to the Papist faction for our good, I fear. Yet here (in the border districts) is nothing but peace and seeking to link all the nobility together, which, I hope, will never be. The Papists do only bear sway; and the King hath none to put in trust with his own body but them. What will come of this your Lordship's wisdom can best discern; and thus much I know certain, that it were good your Lordship looked well whom you trust; for the King and the nobility of Scotland have too good intelligence out of the Court of England." (Letter of Mr. J. Carey to Lord Burghly, State Paper Office.)

King James now entertained the hope that he might behold his divided nobility united together and affording powerful support to his government. In order to forward this favourite object, he opposed the violent and persecuting measures of the Kirk. Bothwell had lately stated to Queen Elizabeth that the Scottish Catholics were so strong, that, in the event of being united with the Protestants, "they would soon rule all." Huntly and his friends had gained complete pre-eminence in the North. To

assail them with processes of treason and proscription would only have tended to increase their hostility and render them desperate; and, to fulminate against them, if they would not renounce their religion and sign the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, the assumed thunders of ecclesiastical vengeance would have been highly impolitic as well as intolerant. Such matters the Kirk ardently desired. The King vigorously opposed them. The ministers stormed in their pulpits and convened an assembly at St. Andrews; in order to consult on the imminent dangers which threatened the Kirk. In this assembly the ministers acknowledged the backslidings of their class. They had forgotten their flocks; they were idle and profane; it was even declared that "a great part of the pastors were the gayest and the most careless men in Scotland." They resolved to excommunicate the Catholic Barons; and they,—a mere local convention—took it upon themselves to issue a sentence delivering their enemies to Satan for the destruction of their flesh. This unhallowed clique presumed also to command that their sentence should be intimated in every Kirk in the kingdom, and that all persons, of whatever rank, should be interdicted from concealing or holding communication with the delinquents whom it had pleased them to deliver to the devil, under pain of being subjected to a like anathema.

Meanwhile, Earl Bothwell, showing himself unworthy of the pardon offered by the King, undertook new intrigues with the ever-willing court of Queen Elizabeth. His schemes and combinations with some of the Scottish Barons were speedily detected by the King, who, assembling a strong force, marched in person, without delay, against the Lords Athole, Gowrie and Montrose, who had got together some five hundred horse, attacked them, made Gowrie and Montrose prisoners, whilst Athole narrowly escaped being taken or slain, and fled with all speed to his own estate in the North.

The Catholic Earls, Huntly, Erroll and Angus, protesting their innocence as regarded the "Spanish blanks," demanded a trial, and even proposed to satisfy the Kirk as to religion. King James, distrusting their sincerity, resisted their importunity. If they had been sincere it would have been highly unjust to reject their request. But it had become well known that they had secretly summoned their friends and retainers to assemble in arms on "the day of law." In the event of such armed assembling the Kirk also resolved to make a military demonstration; and, thus guarded, "accuse their enemies to the uttermost." They added the bitter declaration that they "were certainly determined that the country shall not bruik (brook) us and them baith

(both), so long as they are God's professed enemies." The ministers, accordingly, sent warnings all over the country, to noblemen, barons, gentlemen and Burgesses to muster in warlike arms and array at Perth on the 24th of the month, the day on which it was expected the trial would take place. Commissioners had been appointed to petition the King to "delay the trial till the professors of the gospel should be ripely advised what was meetest for them to do since they had resolved to be the principal accusers of those noblemen in their foul treasons." This petition was presented to James at Jedburgh. He refused to acknowledge any convention that had been called without his order, held some angry conversation with the commissioners and peremptorily declined giving any written reply to the assembly. There was alarm at the Court of Elizabeth; Bowes, her ambassador, wrote to Burghley "the convocation and access of people to that place, (the place of trial) is looked upon to be so great, that thereon bloody troubles shall arise." Indeed, a collision was inevitable, and it would have been the beginning of a bloody civil war. The dreaded calamity was averted by the wise policy of King James. He forbade the trial to be held at Perth, and decreed that a solemn inquiry into the conduct of Huntly, Angus and Erroll should take place before commissioners to be selected

from the nobility, the Burghs and the Kirk. He also appointed that the three Earls should dismiss their forces and await the King's determination at Perth, and that none should be allowed to molest them during the trial when it took place. The Kirk was horror-struck. They had urged the imprisonment of the three Earls and declared that they could not be recognized or allowed to stand their trial, until they signed the Confession of Faith and were reconciled to the Kirk. They insisted, moreover, that the Earls should have no counsel to defend them, and that their accuser, the Kirk, should nominate the jury. These complaints, remonstrances and menaces were all in vain. The King remained firm. He could not consent to the monstrous injustice that was proposed, and to crown the discomfiture of the ministers he was so powerfully supported by the nobility that it would be useless to attempt resistance. The trial was postponed. It was believed that no jury could be found, so "void of favour and partiality" as to condemn the accused. This was no slight admission of the popularity of the Catholic Earls. If acquitted, it was said, no terms or conditions could be imposed upon them which their power would not enable them to set aside. The Earls asserted their innocence as to "the Spanish blanks" and of conspiracy to bring foreign troops into the

realm. They admitted, however, that they had received Jesuits, heard Mass, revolted from the Presbyterian faith, refused to obey their summons for treason, and committed other acts against the laws. In regard to all these matters, they were willing to put themselves in the King's mercy. The King, with the aid of a committee, came to the conclusion that the wisest thing he could do was to adopt a middle course, something between the extremity of persecution which the Kirk desired, and toleration, which was all the Catholics could hope for at the time. This sentence was, that he was firmly resolved that "God's true religion" (pretty well for an Episcopalian) publicly preached and by law established during the first year of his reign, should alone be professed by the whole body of his subjects; and that all who had not embraced it, should, before the first of February next, obey the laws by professing it, and thus satisfy the Kirk, or, if they found this to be against their conscience, they should depart the realm to such parts beyond seas as he should direct, there to remain until they embraced "the true religion" and were reconciled to the Kirk; but, he added, that during this banishment they should enjoy their lands and living. The parties accused of conspiring with Spain for the overthrow of this same "true religion," the Earls of Angus, Huntly and

Erroll, together with Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, and Sir James Chisholm of Cornileys, he pronounced "free and unaccusable in all time coming of any such crimes," and annulled all legal proceedings that had been instituted against them. This favour, however, was extended to the offending Lords on condition only that they should not renew their intrigues or threaten, by word or deed, a repetition of their treason. It was, at the same time, intimated to them and to all other Catholics that if they chose to renounce their "idolatry," to embrace the Presbyterian opinions, satisfy the Kirk and remain to enjoy their estates and honours in their own land, all this must be done before the first day of February next. If they preferred to retain their Faith and go into exile, they were required to abstain from all practices with Jesuits or Seminary Priests against their native country.

By this extraordinary sentence, King James hoped to pacify the country. It only had the effect of making confusion more confounded. It caused wrath and lamentation in the Kirk. The Catholics were too powerful to submit. They were in no humour to abandon their religion or retain it at the expense of perpetual exile. They commanded almost the whole of the North of Scotland, and continued strengthening themselves, both at home and through their

foreign allies, for a new struggle. The feeling of the leading ministers is well described by the English Ambassador, Bowes, in a letter to Lord Burghley, "The King's edict is thought to be very injurious to the Church, and far against the laws of this realm. The ministers have not only openly protested to the King and Convention that they will not agree to the same, but also in their sermons inveigh greatly against it, etc."

Queen Elizabeth was no less offended than the Kirk. Her mind was agitated by the reported proceedings of Jesuits in Scotland, and in consequence of the harsh treatment of Ireland by her government, that country was in perpetual commotion. She could not send her myrmidons to butcher the supporters of the Catholic religion in Scotland, as it was her barbarous policy to do in England. She could, however, scold her good brother, the Scottish King. This she did in good style in a letter which has been preserved, as well as through an ambassador-extraordinary whom, in her excitement, she despatched to the Court of King James. The Queen's bitter and sarcastic letter could not, of course, be acceptable to James. He was greatly vexed by it; but, with his wonted policy, dissembled his wrath and received the ambassador with apparent courtesy. He assured Lord Touch that he was anxious to live on terms of

amity with his good sister, and that she need have no anxiety as to the abolition in favour of the Catholic Lords, for, it was now abolished by their not accepting it. His councillors were complained of. He must confide in his council as the Queen did in her's; he was the last who would suffer any ill-affected persons to insinuate themselves among his ministers. This did not satisfy the ambassador. He insisted on something more practical. He would have deeds, not words. But it does not appear that he was able to divert the King from his purposes. He claimed to be as well skilled in statecraft as Elizabeth, and he would not be dictated to by a Princess who carried on a violent persecution of her Catholic subjects. The Queen favoured a new attack on her good brother by the inveterate rebel, Earl Bothwell. It only caused some annoyance; and this over, King James took his revenge on Elizabeth by addressing to her a letter quite as pithy and sarcastic as the scolding epistle she had sent to him by Lord Touch. The King's letter had the desired effect. Elizabeth was mollified and had no scruple in discarding her protegee, Bothwell. When the ambassadors, bearers of the letter, invited her, in their master's name, to stand God-mother at the approaching baptism of the infant heir to the Scottish throne, she was all smiles to them, and was even more placable on the subject.

of money, but, on the condition that the King should lose no time in setting out on his proposed expedition against the Catholic Earls, and thus shewed that he was in earnest.

The King now resolved to concentrate his whole strength against the Catholic leaders. As he thus conciliated the Kirk and the English faction, everything proceeded amicably and firmly. Huntly, Angus and Erroll, the three mighty chiefs, were now in open rebellion; and they were forfeited, stript of their estates and declared traitors, while the young Earl of Argyle, their declared enemy, received commission to assemble the forces of the North and pursue them with fire and sword. Meanwhile, all persons detected in saying Mass were ordered to be punished capitally and their goods confiscated. In order to preserve the "religion," and to confirm the friendship between the two nations, it was undertaken to thoroughly reform the King's Council, following Elizabeth's advice in such matters. The Catholic Countess of Huntley, whose intercourse with the King and Queen had been a sore point with the Kirk, was banished from the Court; Lord Hume recanted and signed the Confession of Faith; but, whether convinced in conscience, or terrified by the approaching cruelties, will never be known. The King, immediately after the baptism of the heir

apparent, would march in person, at the head of all the powers of his kingdom, against the insurgents. There was now an endless variety of festivities on occasion of the Royal baptism; chariots, mimic ships, Christian knights, rural deities, Moors, windmills, and amazons contributed to make up the pageants, one of which of "deep moral meaning," was the fruitful product of His Majesty's own brain. It must have been a rare treat to see the hypocrite monarch playing the role of a moralist, and, although professing complete devotion to the Kirk, commissioning the Bishop of St. Andrews to baptise his son and heir. In the midst of all the revelry the expedition to the North was not forgot. James could never forget the refusal of the Catholic Barons to accept his absurd conditions of pacification; and the Kirk considered that he was engaging in a holy war, that is, a war of religious persecution or more truly of extermination. Many other feelings, passions and motives of baser alloy, if baser could be, were at work, and dark inveterate hatred arising from private war and family feuds. There was the greatest exacerbation on both sides. Huntly, Angus, Erroll and Auchendown, ever since they rejected the act of abolition, had been making vigorous preparations; and Bothwell, the King's hated enemy, now cast off by Elizabeth, joined their party and engaged to make

a diversion in the South, dividing and distracting the King's forces. He even proposed by a sudden *coup de main*, to attack the Court, imprison the King; and seize the infant Prince. The plot was rendered abortive by the seizure of certain agents connected with it.

CAP. III.

THE BATTLE OF GLENLIVAT—THE KING HAVING A POWERFUL ARMY DEFEATS THE BARONS—HE DEVASTATES HIS OWN COUNTRY AND DESTROYS THE FINE PALACE OF THE EARL OF HUNTLY, TOGETHER WITH THE MANSIONS OF SEVERAL OTHER NOBLEMEN—HE EXECUTES SOME OF HUNTLEY'S MEN—WHAT IT COST THE KING—DISAPPOINTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH—REVIVAL OF CATHOLIC INFLUENCE—DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE COUNTRY—FAMINE—DISORDERLY BARONS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE—HUNTLY KEEPS HIS GROUND—REV. JOHN MORTON DETECTED—MINISTERS OF THE KIRK PROPOSE TORTURE, WHICH THE KING DOES NOT ALLOW—LAST MASS IN ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

Argyle had full commission to act against the Catholics; and he lost no time in his endeavour to execute it. In marching towards Aberdeen, he was joined by numerous bands; and, in a short time, he was at the head of ten thousand men. Of this number six thousand only were efficient soldiers. The rest, however, were provided with such arms as they were accustomed to, and they were undoubtedly

warlike. There was also with him a noted sorceress whose incantations were expected by the *reformed* people to bring to light the treasures which might be hid under ground by the terrified inhabitants. The hope of abundant plunder was a strong incentive to their bravery. He attempted the siege of some places on his way; but relinquishing this hopeless task, he proceeded through the hills of Strathbogie, with the fell purpose of ravaging that country which belonged to Huntly, with fire and sword. Reaching Drimnin in Strathdown, he encamped there; and soon after had information that Huntly was near at hand, and, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, intended to attack him. The Catholic Lords had only two thousand men, or, as some say, something over fifteen hundred. They were, however true soldiers and commanded by experienced officers. They had also six pieces of ordnance under the skilful command of Captain Gray. Huntly, having reached Auchendown, learned, by his scouts, on the 3rd October, that Argyle was at no great distance. He sent forward a few horsemen to reconnoitre. They were conducted by a spy of Argyle to the vicinity of his encampment which was near Glenlivat, in the mountainous district of Strathavon. The officer who had gone to observe the enemy, on returning, concealed their numbers and said they

might be easily beaten by a few resolute men. Huntly followed his advice and marched forward. Erroll led the advance, supported by Sir Patrick Gordon, the Lairds of Gight, Bonniton, Wood, Captain Kerr and three hundred gentlemen. Huntly commanded the rear guard, having, on his right, the Laird of Clunie Gordon, and on his left, Gordon of Abergel. The six pieces of artillery were so placed as to be completely masked by the cavalry, and, so they were dragged forward unperceived, within range of the enemy's position. They opened fire, and at the first discharge, which was directed against the yellow standard of Argyle, struck down and slew MacNeill, the Laird of Barra's third son, one of their bravest officers, and Campbell of Loch-nell, who held the standard. This great success spread confusion among the Highlanders. A large body of them, yelling and brandishing their broad swords and axes, made some attempts to reach the horsemen; but receiving another fire from the artillery, they fled, and so fast that they were speedily out of sight and pursuit. A large body remained, nevertheless, and they had the advantage both of the sun which shone upon and dazzled their opponents, and the nature of the ground. Huntly's vanguard, notwithstanding, commanded by Erroll and Auchen-down, advanced boldly to attack. Erroll, dreading

a marsh that lay between him and the enemy, moved forward along some firmer ground that lay on one side, hoping thus to take the enemy in the flank. Sir Patrick Gordon, impelled by his extraordinary ardour, made directly for the hill; but, he and his horsemen, impeded by the swampy ground, remained exposed to a murderous fire from the enemy, who, in this part of the field, were led by McLean of Duart, a chieftain of great stature and prodigious strength. He was superiorly armed, wearing a shirt of mail and wielding a Danish battle-axe. He skillfully placed his force in a small copse wood near at hand, from which, protected against cavalry, they delivered their fire with great effect. Auchendown's ranks were fearfully thinned by the murderous fire; but, far from being discouraged, he succeeded in disengaging his cavalry and galloped up the hill. To the great sorrow of his followers, he was struck with a bullet and fell from his horse. They were not, however, dismayed, but made strenuous efforts to rescue their chief. The furious enemy, to whom he was well known, rushed upon him, despatched him with their dirks, cut off his head and displayed it in savage triumph. This enraged the Gordons, who, fighting with fury and regardless of discipline, gave advantage to McLean. This chief, availing himself of the confusion, hemmed in the enemy's vanguard

and forced it into narrow space between his own force and Argyle's, hoping thus to cut them to pieces. But Huntly, observing their danger, hastened to their support. He made a furious attack on both Argyle and McLean, and called loudly on his friends to avenge Auchendown. There rode beside Argyle a person who, it may be said, had no business in battle, the Royal Herald. He was arrayed in his official costume with his tabard; and on it the red lion and double tressure. Such dress could be no protection on the battlefield. It only served to point him out to hostile vengeance, which was, at the moment, excited to the highest pitch. "At the Lion," roared the horsemen, as they ran him through with their spears, and laid him in the dust. The battle now raged for two hours with unusual fury. Erroll was wounded by a bullet in the arm, and a sharp barbed arrow pierced deep into his thigh, whilst his pennon, or guidon, was torn from him by McLean. Gordon of Gight received three bullet wounds and two plates of his steel coat were forced into his body. Of these wounds he died next day. Huntly himself was in the greatest danger: His horse was shot under him, and the enemy rushed forward to attack him on the ground with their knives and axes. But there was aid at hand. A devoted follower, Innermarkie, rescued him from his perilous

position and supplied him with a horse. He now charged the forces of Argyle with renewed vigour. They wavered and finally fled, in such numbers that there remained only twenty men around their chief. The young warrior, grieved and vexed, beyond measure, at this disgraceful desertion, shed tears of rage. He insisted on continuing the hopeless struggle; but, his friend, Murray of Tullibardine, seizing his bridle, forced him off the field. Seven hundred of his followers were slain in the pursuit which followed. The loss on Huntly's side was comparatively small. There fell some twenty gentlemen, of whom Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, was the most lamented; and there were fifty wounded. It was a great achievement, without parallel, it may be said, in all history. On Huntly's side, there were only from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, whilst Argyle had an army of ten thousand. Under such circumstances was fought and won the celebrated battle of Glenlivet. It was a brilliant, but useless victory—useless except in as far as it afforded a new proof that the cause in which it was achieved cannot be forwarded by the sword.

The King, unaware of all that had taken place, was now on his march, at the head of a powerful army, to the North. He was attended by a troop of war-like ministers of the Kirk, who looked on his ex-

pedition as a holy war—a crusade against “anti-Christ.” On reaching Dundee, he was met by the Earl of Argyle, who informed him of his own ignominious defeat. The news must have been anything but encouraging to the Monarch, who was far from warlike, and could not but remind him that *the battle is not always to the strong*. He was bent on revenge, however, and this purpose was the more easily accomplished, as Huntly was unable to master a force that could effectually oppose the army of the King. James, accordingly, meeting with no opposition, and encouraged by his ghostly advisers, the ministers, proceeded on his work of havoc and vengeance. The palace of Strathbogie, Huntly's princely residence, was the first object of the royal fury. It was given to the flames, and the massive walls, which took fourteen years in building, were partly destroyed by gunpowder and partly quarried down by pioneers, a fanatical minister, Andrew Melville, bearing a pike and taking part in the “godly” work. There remained only the great old tower, whose strong masonry defied the pioneers and the powder. Slaines, the seat of Erroll came next; then the manor house of Culsamond in Garioch, Bagays, and Craig in Angus, together with the castles of Sir Walter Lindsay and Sir John Ogilvy, were ruthlessly destroyed. This was noble employ-

ment, it must be owned, for the future King of Great Britain, and a royal author who wrote philosophy that commanded the admiration of Europe. There would have been more havoc still, but for famine overtaking the devastating host and compelling it to retire on Aberdeen. All the victorious Monarch, who had fought no battle, could do there, was to execute some of Huntly's men. He punished only with fines such of the common people as had been at the battle of Glenlivet. Having made arrangements for the government of the North, he disbanded his army and returned to Stirling.

King James had now done enough, one would suppose, to meet the utmost expectations of Queen Elizabeth, and gratify the exacting Kirk. The Castles and Houses, which the ministers claimed had been "polluted" by the mass, were now only smoking ruins. The noblemen and gentlemen who desired only to retain their estates whilst they went into exile, rather than abjure the religion of their fathers, were fugitives and wanderers, hiding in the caves and forests, and dreading at every hour to be betrayed into the hands of their enemies. This was the victory the King had won, and not without great danger, for there were always plots against his life or liberty; and, in his expedition to the North, he had undergone much fatigue and privation. Worst

of all, he had impoverished his revenue, incurred heavy debts and laid burdens on his subjects in order that he might by one great effort extinguish the Catholic Faith and relieve Queen Elizabeth of all her fears.

He surely had a right to expect and he did confidently expect that all which his "good sister" had undertaken in his behalf, would now be generously fulfilled. He was miserably disappointed. The Queen, instead of the handsome allowance which had been promised to him, and to which he was entitled as heir apparent to the English crown, had an account trumped up by her financiers, which made it appear that, as regarded money, he was her debtor. He owed her £6,500. This was quite as much as her sister, Mary, and herself, had received from their father, Henry VIII. "*The wages of sin is death,*" and so the unfortunate James had, for the sole reward of all his crimes against his Catholic people, the extinction of his hope to reign in peace over the wilderness which he had made of their domains. Thus did Queen Elizabeth not only prove shamefully faithless to her "good brother" and heir, the King of Scotland; she was also untrue to herself, frustrating, most happily for mankind, her own cherished purposes. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi.* All the evils which she had done to the Catholics of Scotland by her

false promises to King James, and which gave her so much joy, were now to be alleviated through the inability of the King to perpetuate them. James was indignant at the base conduct of his "good sister." If she had kept her word and not broken the solemn promise she made to him through her ambassadors, the land would have been completely purged of "the enemies of God, and of religion in both countries." If these enemies had now revived and were looking confidently for Spanish aid, if recruits were raised in the Isles to assist the Catholics and Elizabeth's rebel, O'Neill, in Ireland; and if his own life were in danger from desperate men who were plotting against him in order to set up the infant Prince and hurl him from his throne; it was entirely due to the desertion of Queen Elizabeth. He had done his part, redeemed all his pledges, whilst the Queen failed to fulfil her promises, and now basely disowned them. She might take the consequences. For his part, he would look for other friendships and, contrary to his wishes, would accept other offers of assistance. Already the members of his council who were inclined to the Catholic side, had more influence than ever. What was to be done? He could only strengthen himself by seeking such alliances as were within his reach. His cruelty to the Catholic Earls and the friendship he had shewn to the Kirk, had alienated his foreign allies and the

influential body of the English Catholics. Add to all this the miseries which the contention of parties, the feuds of the Barons and the disastrous results of the King's campaign against the Catholics had produced. Nowhere was there peace and security. "Large bodies of soldiers," writes Mr. Fraser Tytler, "disbanded for want of pay, roamed over the country and committed every sort of robbery and excess. Ministers of religion were murdered; fathers slain by their own sons; brothers by their brethren; married women ravished under their own roof; houses with their miserable inmates burned amid savage mirth; and the land so utterly wasted by fire, plunder and the total cessation of agricultural labour, that famine at last stalked in to complete the horrid picture, and destroy by the most horrible of deaths those who had escaped the sword."

In these trying circumstances there was no hope of remedy except through the energy of the King. His council, distracted by faction, was a nullity, and some of its chief dignitaries the worst offenders. Deserted by the English Queen and without means to maintain an army, the duped Monarch could no longer direct military operations against the Catholics of the land. Necessity compelled him to employ his abilities in more statesman-work. He convened the nobles, expressed his sympathy for the sufferings

of the people, and declared his determination to make every effort in order to relieve them. The extensive regions of the North could not be brought to order so long as certain powerful Barons continued their excesses. The leading chiefs among them were vigorously pursued. Athole, Lovat and McKenzie were committed to ward at Linlithgow; Argyle, Glenurchy and others were imprisoned at Edinburgh Castle; Tullibardine, Grandtully and some of their fiercest adherents were sent to prison at Dunbarton and Blackness. These Barons were only to be released when they made amends for the fearful excesses committed by their clansmen and retainers and gave security for restoring order to the country. The Catholic Earls, Huntly and Erroll, meanwhile, held their ground in Scotland, relying for assistance in men and money from the Court of Spain. Their hopes from that quarter were, however, doomed to disappointment. A messenger to them from the King of Spain and the Pope, intrusted with a secret mission, was so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. This person, the Rev. John Morton, was a Jesuit, and a brother of the Laird of Cambo. He had come to Scotland in a Dutch ship and was landed at Leith. Not being adequately disguised, a son of Mr. Erskine of Dun, who was his fellow-passenger, thought he detected



something else than a gentleman on his travels. He imparted his suspicion to one Lindsay, a Minister of the Kirk. This busy-body instantly pounced upon Father Morton, as he was called, who, being seized by the officers of justice, tore to pieces his secret instructions with his teeth. The fragments were gathered up and as far as possible deciphered. The King, who piqued himself upon his skill in cross-examining, undertook to interrogate the envoy, and not without success. He brought him to acknowledge that he was a Jesuit, while pretending to be a private gentleman returning to his native country for the benefit of his health; that he was confessor to the Catholic Seminary at Rome and was sent to Scotland by the Pope with messages from Cardinal Cajetano and Fathers Creighton and Tyrie to Mr. James Gordon, near relative of the Earl of Huntly. He was directed to express disapproval of the manner in which the funds lately sent had been disposed of and to say that no hope of further remittances could be held out until the Catholic Lords had justified their action before the councillors of the King of Spain in the Netherlands. The ministers of the Kirk (merciful ministers!) insisted on putting him to the torture. The King, less cruel than his ghostly advisers, would not consent to this, but was satisfied with his plain and candid narrative. There

was found on his person a small jewel on which was admirably represented the passion of our Lord minutely carved in ivory. This, he said, was a present from Cardinal Cajetano to the Queen of Scotland. James, taking it up, asked him to what use he applied it. "To remind me," said the envoy "when I gaze on it and kiss it, of my Lord's Passion. Look, my Liege, how lifelike our Saviour is here seen hanging between the two thieves, whilst below the Roman soldier is piercing His sacred side with the lance. Oh! that I could prevail on my Sovereign but once to kiss it before he lays it down!" "No," said James, "the Word of God is enough to remind me of the Crucifixion, and, besides, this carving is so exceedingly small that I could not kiss Christ without kissing both the thieves and the executioners."

The discovery of this messenger was a severe blow to the party. To retire into temporary exile was the only resource, they believed, that remained. The Rev. Father Gordon, Huntly's uncle, implored them to stay. On a very solemn occasion when Mass was celebrated for the last time in the cathedral of Elgin, this devoted priest, descending from the high altar, and passing into the pulpit, exhorted them not to depart, but remain in their native country and hazard all for the Faith. They could not be persuaded, and the venerable priest, well aware that he could not

exist or exercise the duties of his office without the protection which they were still able to afford, resolved to accompany them. On the 17th of March, 1595, Erroll embarked at Peterhead, and on the 19th, Huntly, with his rev. uncle and a suite of sixteen persons, took ship at Aberdeen for Denmark; and purposed passing through Poland into Italy.

CAP. IV.

THE CATHOLIC BARONS IN EXILE—THE KING REJECTS THE BARBAROUS MEASURE PROPOSED BY THE KIRK—ABOUT 1590, ACCORDING TO PROTESTANT TESTIMONY, THE CATHOLIC CLERGY WERE LABOURING ZEALOUSLY FOR THE COMFORT OF THEIR BRETHREN—THE CATHOLIC BARONS RESTORED—HORROR OF THE KIRK—A "DAY OF HUMILIATION" AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—THE ROYAL POLICY OPPOSED TO PERSECUTION—INTOLERABLE LICENSE OF THE KIRK—BLACK'S EXCESS OF FANATICISM—THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK COMMANDED TO LEAVE THE CAPITAL—THE MINISTERS RAISE A TUMULT—THE KING WITHDRAWS TO LINLITHGOW; RETURNS WITH AN ARMY, AND CAUSES THE LAW TO BE RESPECTED—ESTABLISHES EPISCOPALIANISM—A SAD BLOW TO THE REFRACTORY KIRK.

Now that the Catholic Barons were in exile, the ministers of the Kirk made the utmost efforts to compass their complete ruin. They tried all in their power to induce the King to forfeit their estates and reduce them to beggary. So barbarous a measure the Monarch wisely refused to adopt. He had already done enough, he conceived, for the Kirk, and

he could not but consider it cruel and impolitic in the extreme, to extirpate the ancient Houses of Huntly, Erroll and Angus, and to punish, by utter ruin and extermination, parties who were already exiles for conscience sake. The Countesses of Huntly and Erroll were permitted to remain in Scotland; and arrangements were made by means of which the Earls themselves were saved from being wholly destitute. It was the policy of James to maintain a certain balance of power between the factions, keeping them all dependent on himself, leaning to the one or to the other, as the exigencies of the time required. To leave such great Barons as Huntly unmolested, in a position which rendered their restoration possible at any moment, was a powerful means of restraining the violence of their enemies.

About this time, 1590, according to the testimony of the Kirk, the Catholic clergy in Scotland were labouring zealously to confirm and comfort their brethren. The hope that the exiled Barons would soon return, gave them new courage, and they were confident that the King would not tolerate any violent measures against them on the part of the merciless Kirk, which was obliged to be satisfied with abusing them and uttering impotent blasphemies against religion. They were denounced as "excommunicated Papists," "Jesuits," "Anti-Christ," etc., whilst

their chiefs, the Catholic Earls, were branded as rebels, traitors, etc., and the friends of these forfeited Earls, they complained, who remained at home were at large and enjoyed full liberty in the land.

Meanwhile the tide of Royal favour appeared to flow towards the Catholics. King James was disgusted with the narrow-mindedness and persecuting spirit of the ministers of the Kirk. The mean and niggard way in which his "good sister," Queen Elizabeth, had treated him helped to alienate him from her faction and incline him to show friendship to the Catholic party. These dispositions bore their fruit. Notwithstanding the opposition which he anticipated on the part of the Kirk, the King resolved on the restoration of the Catholic Barons. They were to submit, as in duty bound, to their Sovereign and offer no opposition to the Kirk. On this condition their cause was to be espoused by the Duke of Lennox. Soon afterwards, the Earl of Huntly came from the continent, and passing in disguise into Scotland, arrived safely among his friends, who, aware of the favour in which he was held at the Court, made the greatest efforts for his restoration. The Kirk was horror struck, and raised its cry of warning. But it was in vain, while giving utterance, in loud complaints, to their distress, they learned that the Earl of Erroll had been seen with Huntly

at his castle of the Bog of Gight, and that the powerful Earl of Angus had come secretly into the city of Perth. Worse than all, the Countess of Huntly was at Court; and having great influence, made overtures on the part of her husband. He had never, it was alleged in his behalf, plotted against the reformed religion since he left Scotland, and was willing to stand his trial if any one should presume to accuse him. He had no objections to confer with the ministers on the subject of religion; but a reasonable time must be allowed him to make up his mind.

His proposals and requests were only fair and moderate. But the Kirk was implacable. An "excommunicated traitor," as they called him, a man who had been guilty of "idolatry," a capital crime, and who, notwithstanding a sentence of banishment, had dared to return without leave, had no claim to propose any terms. The Kirk was in danger. Those Earls would not show themselves openly in the country unless their presence were acceptable to the King. The party that opposed *the truth* and the *liberty of the word of God* was strong, bold and confident of success, both in England and Scotland. If some great and determined resistance were not at once made, the Kirk, with all its boasted purity and privileges, would become the prey of *Anti-Christ*. A day of humiliation, accordingly, was appointed.

People and Ministers were called upon to weep and pray between the porch and the altar, for a land "polluted by the enemies of God." They also named sixteen commissioners who should sit at Edinburgh, represent the Church, as its council, and correspond with all parts of the country.

No wonder if the King was alarmed. This was, indeed, an *imperium in imperio*, which would have swept the government out of the hands of the civil power. At first, however, he thought it more politic to remonstrate; and this he did through some of the more moderate ministers. He would have them understand that their fears were groundless. The Barons had no intention of making war on him or them. They had thrown themselves on his mercy and he had taken them into favour. Why should not the clergy have the like consideration for repentance? The Barons desired to be reconciled. Why should the Church repel them, shut its doors in their faces, and doom them to despair?

King James was by nature inclined to clemency. The sentiments to which he gave utterance in opposition to the merciless Kirk, were no doubt sincerely entertained. This conduct was, at the same time, highly political. It would have been unwise, considering Queen Elizabeth's great age, and the influence of the Catholics in England as well as in his

own kingdom, to become a religious persecutor. It would have been an impediment to his accession to the English crown. The Kirk, too, disgusted him by its cruelty and the absurdity of the arguments urged by its ministers. The Catholic Earls, they maintained, could not be pardoned by the civil power. They were "idolators" and must suffer death. They could only be absolved on their repentance, by the Kirk, from the sentence of spiritual death. Some of the more moderate implored him to come to an agreement. This is impossible, he declared, so long as the limits of the two jurisdictions are vague and undistinguishable. In their preachings, he told them, their license was intolerable. They censured Prince, estates and Council. They convoked General Assemblies without any authority. They passed laws under the allegation that they were purely ecclesiastical, whilst they interfered with his prerogative and restricted the decisions of his Council and Judges. Their Synods and Presbyteries, under the name of scandal, fulminated the most bitter personal attacks, and drew under their censures every conceivable grievance. Agreement under such circumstance was out of the question. If made, it could not last for a moment.

During these discussions a minister called Black, not only denounced the threatened triumph of "idol-

atry" in Scotland, but, at the same time *uplifted his testimony* against English Prelacy. Queen Elizabeth was an atheist, her religion empty show dictated by a set of pseudo bishops. The King of Scotland was guilty of treachery in allowing the return of Papist Earls. But what could be expected? Was not Satan the head of both Court and Council? Were not all kings devil's bairns? Was not Satan in the Court, in the guiders of the Court, in the head of the Court? Such language, of course, could not be tolerated. King James claimed and surely was entitled to the right of judging and sentencing the offender. The Kirk and Black violently remonstrated, maintaining that the Church alone could judge such cases. The King stood firm. The man was tried and sentenced. His Majesty was unwilling to execute the sentence and made a new endeavour to gain the ministers. But in vain. It became necessary to forbid the commissioners to hold any more meetings, and they were commanded, by Royal proclamation, to leave the city within four and twenty hours, and repair to their flocks. They refused to obey; but ascended their pulpits and *dealt mightily with the power of the word* against the charge which commanded them to desert their duty. Later on, Black was found guilty of having falsely and treasonably slandered the King; the Queen, his Royal

Consort ; his neighbour Princess, the Queen of England ; and the Lords of Council and Session. He was imprisoned to await the King's pleasure. James, although he held the sword of justice over the criminal, was still anxious for a compromise. His leniency and friendly purposes were misinterpreted. They shewed, it was pretended, weakness and not a desire for peace. The commissioners of the Kirk would not in the least withdraw from their demands. No punishment, they declared, could be inflicted on a man *who had not yet been tried*. The Kirk proclaimed a fast, and once more commanded "to sound mightily." The King's patience was at an end. He commanded the commissioners instantly to leave the city, and ordered Black to enter into ward. He also published a lengthened declaration in which he justified his proceedings before his people. He concluded by saying that "he was resolved to enforce upon all his people, ministers of the Kirk as well as others, that obedience to the laws and reverence for the throne, without which no Christian kingdom could hold together. For this purpose certain bonds were in preparation, which the ministers should be required to subscribe under the penalty of a sequestration of their property,"

The ministers and their friends now caused a tumult in the capital which endangered the person of the

Monarch and obliged him to withdraw to his palace of Linlithgow. He summoned around him the border warriors and the hardy men of the North. All these approaching the city, the magistrates, ministers, burgesses and inhabitants generally were struck with terror and made submission to their Sovereign. The ministers were, as usual, the worst to deal with. They started propositions that were wholly inconsistent with the existence of the civil power. But, in such controversies, they were no match for the learned and acute Prince. Some of them, on account of their extreme violence, in the pulpit and at popular conventions, were obliged to leave the country. The King finally prevailed, and placed the authority of the State in such a light as to command, however much they abhorred it, the acceptance of the ministers. His next step was to establish the Episcopal form of Protestantism. This was a sad blow to the Kirk, and caused a diversion in favour of the Catholics. If the Kirk had been less exacting in its demands and less violent, it might have fared better.

CAP. V.

ENDEAVOUR OF KING JAMES TO RECONCILE THE CATHOLIC BARONS AND THE KIRK—THE KING TRYING WITCHES—HE DEALS SEVERELY WITH BORDER OFFENDERS—COMPLAINS OF THE WRONGS RECEIVED FROM ENGLAND IN THE MURDER OF HIS ROYAL MOTHER, THE WITH-HOLDING OF HIS ANNUITY AS THEIR APPARENT TO THE ENGLISH CROWN, ETC—HE APPOINTS 50 BISHOPS WITH SEATS IN PARLIAMENT—THE KIRK THUS DIVERTED FROM PERSECUTING CATHOLICS—THE KING WRITES A BOOK, IN WHICH HE ASCRIBES THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND TO TUMULT AND REBELLION—THE MINISTERS OFFENDED—THE BOOK MUCH ADMIRERD IN ENGLAND AND BY THE POPE—THE KING MAKES LITTLE ACCOUNT OF THE KIRK'S ENMITY—PROPOSES A TREATY WITH SPAIN—SENDS AN ENVOY TO ROME—STRIVES TO PUT AN END TO FEUDS—RECONCILES HUNTLY AND ARGYLE—GREAT REJOICING THEREAT—DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH—DEATH OF JAMES BETHUNE, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, AND EXTINCTION OF THE HIERARCHY—UNDISPUTED ACCESSION OF JAMES TO THE ENGLISH THRONE—THE CATHOLICS FULL OF HOPE—THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY AND OTHERS ALLOWED THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RELIGION—A JESUIT EXECUTED FOR AN ALLEGED CRIME AGAINST THE STATE—PERSECUTION IN 1628.

The King having overcome the popular tumult and returned to his capital, was now all-powerful, and prepared to inflict a new mortification on the refractory Kirk. This was nothing less than to reconcile to it the Catholic Earls, whose lives the ministers sought, in punishment of their "*idolatry*." The Earls were willing to be politically reconciled ; and they were so. The story of their conforming to the Kirk so completely as to sign the Confession of Faith and take what the ministers were pleased to call *the sacrament*, has all the appearance of being apocryphal. If, indeed, they signed, it was under coercion and in obedience to irresistible political emergency. The King had addressed a very peremptory letter to Huntly intimating to him that "the time was come when he must either embrace the Protestant faith, remain in Scotland, and be restored to his honors and estates, or leave his country forever, if his conscience were so kittle (tender) as to refuse these conditions ; in which case he must never look to be a Scotchman again." The letter thus concludes : " Deceive not yourself to think that by lingering of time your wife or your allies shall ever get you better conditions. I must love myself and my own estate better than all the world ; and think not that I will suffer any professing a contrary religion, to dwell in this land." James must have had a very *kittle* conscience himself, since, being a decided

Episcopalian, and besides, a really great philosopher, whose wisdom commanded the admiration of Europe, he could do so much for Presbyterianism. But, then he was a believer in political exigencies; and in this he required his Catholic Barons to be like himself. Why should not Catholicism, as well as Episcopalianism, fraternise with their antipodes, the Presbyterian system? If the Barons did so fraternise to the extent of signing the absurd Confession of Faith, they could not but do so, as many a Kirk probationer has done since, "with a smile or a sigh."

King James was now, 1597, too busy with the trial of witches to grieve over his recent troubles. The border districts required also to be pacified; and this he speedily effected by dealing more severely than he was wont with offenders. But they were no ordinary offenders, and fourteen of them were taken and hanged, while thirty-six of the principal Barons, by whom the robbers had been encouraged, were seized and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh. Parliament now assembled, and the Monarch being now so powerful, shewed that he had some new cause of alienation from England. In an address to his nobility, he complained of the wrongs which he had received in the execution of his Royal mother; the interruption in the payment of his annuity as heir apparent to the English Crown; the scornful answers

to his temperate remonstrances; the injustice of Elizabeth in accusing him of exciting Poland and Denmark against her, and fostering rebellion in Ireland. Most of all, he was offended by the attempt recently made in the English Parliament to defeat his title to the throne of that kingdom. He was the more keenly sensitive on this point in consequence of the reports which daily reached him of the shattered health of the Queen. He could only take care to be on his guard against all possible occurrences. He now also resorted to his favourite purpose of introducing Bishops, and after much stormy controversy with the ministers, who contended that the project with its inherent evils, the dangers which it carried within its bowels, would be as fatal as was the wooden horse to the unwary Trojans, some fifty Bishops were appointed with seats in Parliament. The politic Monarch was far from foreseeing the bitter contests and bloody struggles "Prelacy" was destined to occasion in the days of his successors. In the meantime, it diverted, so far, the attention of the Kirk from its cruel work of persecuting Catholics.

A circumstance occurred this year, 1599, which greatly raised the hopes of the Catholics. The King wrote a book. This was the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, which excited the admiration of all Europe, and was highly esteemed by the Pope. The Holy

Father pronounced its author the most learned Prince of the time, and he also expressed the hope that, as he had written so much sound philosophy and so much truth, he would finally embrace the whole truth. The Catholics of Scotland also entertained this hope and were jubilant over the Royal learning. One of the King's secretaries, who had been employed to copy the book, imprudently showed it to the minister, Andrew Melville, who took copies of certain passages, laid them before the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and accused the author, whose name he did not reveal, of having bitterly defamed the Kirk. The passages presented were probably those which contained an attack upon the Presbyterian form of Church government, and that the Prince of Wales, for whose teaching the work was written, was instructed to hold none for his friends but such as had been faithful to the late Queen of Scots. It was clear, the ministers argued, that no person entertaining such sentiments as were expressed in the book, could endure for any length of time the salutary discipline of the Kirk; and that the severe and sweeping censure pronounced upon the Scottish reformation, as the offspring of popular tumult and rebellion, very plainly indicated the author's leaning to "Prelacy" and "Popery." What could be expected, said they, of a writer who described the leaders of

that glorious work as "fiery and seditious spirits," who delighted to rule as "*Tribuni plebis*;" and, having found the gust of government sweet, had brought about the wreck of two Queens; and during a long minority had invariably placed themselves at the head of every faction which weakened and distracted the country! What was to be hoped for if those men, who had been ever the champions of the Truth, were to be held up to scorn and avoidance, in terms such as these: "Take heed, therefore, my son, to such Puritans, very pests in the Church and common weal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths or promises bind; breathing nothing but seditions and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason; and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the Great God, and, since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in—that ye shall never find, with any Highland or Border thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies, and vile perjuries, than with these fanatical spirits."

A rumour had spread through the country that King James was the author of the obnoxious passages, and that he had given instructions to the Prince which shewed inveterate enmity to the Kirk. It was thought that the best that could be done, in

order to silence the clamour, was to publish the work. It was published accordingly; and it did more, Archbishop Spottiswood believed, in favour of James' title, by the admiration it caused in England for the piety and wisdom of its Royal author, than all the discourses on the succession that were circulated at the time. In Scotland, as was to be expected, it produced quite an opposite feeling. The wrath of the ministers was extreme. It was perfect phrensy.

The favour in which the Catholics of Scotland now stood was shewn on occasion of the arrival of a French ambassador. The English Queen and the ministers of the Kirk were dissatisfied because they suspected that this ambassador's mission was connected with the King's intrigues with Catholics abroad. The ambassador was of the House of Bethune, and a younger brother of the great Sully. He was much caressed at the Scottish Court. He had brought with him a Jesuit, and this priest was frequently closeted with the King. Sully was, of course, allowed the full exercise of his religion; and this caused the ministers to grieve over the contrast of the present times of liberality and indifference to the Kirk, with the glorious days when it was death to celebrate mass in Scotland. But the wrath of the ministers was impotent and the Monarch all powerful. He was too well informed to heed their censures, and too strong to dread their waning influence.

When the ambassador of a Catholic Power was cordially received at the Court of Scotland, it was fitting and opportune that the King should send an envoy to Catholic Powers and to the chief of those Powers. Pourie Ogilvy, a Catholic Baron, was sent to Italy and Spain. At Venice and Rome, this diplomatist represented, and, as he alleged, by authority of the King, that this Monarch was prepared to receive instruction in the Catholic Faith and favourably hear its expounders. In Spain he assumed a still bolder tone. His Royal Master, he said, had resolved to punish the insults heaped upon him by Queen Elizabeth, and for this purpose was anxious to form an alliance with King Philip. Let them, therefore, conclude a treaty. The King of Scots, on his part, would become a Catholic, establish the true Faith in his kingdom, and, as a pledge of his sincerity, send his son to be educated at the Court of Spain. He would require, on the other hand, that Philip should renounce all claim to the English crown, advance to King James 500,000 ducats and send to his aid a force of 12,000 men. Philip was distrustful. He doubted the envoy's credentials; and although he treated him with courtesy, gave him no encouragement.

Another envoy was despatched to Rome. He claimed that he was commissioned by King James. This envoy, Mr. Drummond, carried with him to the

Papal Court a letter from his King to Clement VIII. in which it was suggested that the residence of a Scotch ambassador at Rome would be attended with the best effects, and he proposed that Drummond, Bishop of Vaison, a native of Scotland, should be appointed to this office. The ambassador proposed, moreover, and in the King's name, that His Majesty's son should be brought up in the Catholic Faith, and that King James would place his castle of Edinburgh in the hands of the Catholics. Ogilvy had acted a double part. He was a spy of Cecil as well as an envoy of the King of Scots. It was otherwise as regarded Drummond. The letter which he bore to Pope Clement, when challenged by Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, was shown to be genuine, bearing the signature of King James. This the King denied. But the letter was produced and published by Cardinal Bellarmine, when it was proved to bear the King's signature. On investigation being made, the Scotch Secretary of State, Lord Balmerino, who was a Catholic and nearly related to the Bishop of Vaison, confessed that he had presented the letter along with a mass of other papers, and that the King signed it without looking at its contents. This the wary Monarch was not likely to do; nor was it believed that he did. The light punishment inflicted on Balmerino showed that he had made himself a scapegoat.

to screen his Royal Master. However all this may be, it is certain that there was intercourse with Rome which produced a most favourable impression in the minds of all the Catholics, as regarded the Scottish Monarch. All parties in England now favoured him. In the summer of 1602 the English Lord Henry Howard wrote to the Earl of Mar, that "all men spoke as freely and certainly of the succession of the King of Scots, as if they were about to take the Oath of Allegiance to him in his own capital."

It remained only for the politic Monarch, after so many triumphs, the fruit of his "King-craft" and diplomacy, to put an end to the feuds which distracted his kingdom. The families of Argyle and Huntly were reconciled and a marriage arranged between the former nobleman's daughter and the son of the latter. The Duke of Lennox and a party headed by the Queen renounced their deadly variance with the Earl of Mar. The powerful Houses of Moray and Huntly, whose inveterate feud of forty years had so often spread havoc and terror over the finest portions of the country, came under the judicious and firm arbitration of King James and was at an end forever. This was great success. The English resident wrote to his Court: "Nothing was now heard but the voice of festivity and gratulation; the nobility feasting each other, consorting like brethren, and all

united in one loving bond for the surety and service of the King."

The year 1603 was a year of great events. It saw the bitter end of that most cruel enemy of all Catholics, Queen Elizabeth. It beheld also the undisputed accession of Scotland's King to the throne of England, and the death of James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, with whom perished the ancient Hierarchy of Scotland, which had subsisted without interruption ever since the second century.

The Catholics of Scotland, although deprived of their usual government, which they prized so highly, now enjoyed peace, and, encouraged by the recent conduct of the Monarch towards them, entertained the hope that there would be a long continuance of tranquility. We shall now see to what extent this hope was realized.

The more influential Catholics of Scotland continued to be favoured by the politic King James after he succeeded to the English crown. The Earl of Huntly, now a marquess, received the Royal sanction for the private exercise of his religion. The same favour was extended to Gordon of Craig, and it does not appear that for some time any serious persecution was attempted. The Catholics of Scotland were allowed to maintain an agent at London who negotiated for them, and so saved them from the interfer-

ence of the established Church. The severe laws against them were still, however, on the Statute Book, and there wanted not, in those dark days, the spirit of persecution which, ere long, caused them to be put in force. Several Jesuits who had returned from exile, were tried and once more sentenced to banishment. This was, as yet, the utmost penalty; for, although John O'gilvie, a Jesuit, was executed at Glasgow, in 1615, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, it was for an alleged crime against the State, the crime of treason. No other priest was put to death under the cruel statutes that still existed.

We learn from a letter of Father William Lesly, who died Dean of St. Quintin's in France, that in 1628, Charles I. had addressed a proclamation to the Bishops and Ministers, requiring them to send to the Privy Council, twice in the year, a list of all Roman Catholics who refused to attend the service of the established Church. When convicted they were to be excommunicated and their goods confiscated. In another letter of date 1st September, 1630, he states that the Catholics who had appeared before the Council, in the previous month of July, had all been sentenced to banishment. Seven weeks were allowed for their departure and one-third of their rents was granted for the maintenance of their families, which would be forfeited if they returned to their country;

and, besides, there was a penalty of fine and imprisonment. Father Lesly, soon after 1636, was appointed Superior of the Scotch College at Douay. His brother, Father Andrew Lesly, was a Missionary in Buchan. In May, 1647, this priest was arrested and committed to prison at Aberdeen. In March, 1648, he was in Edinburgh gaol, from which, through the influence of the Count de Montreal, the French ambassador, he was released in July of the same year, and ordered to quit the realm under penalty of death if he ventured to return.

CAP. VI.

ZEAL OF THE FEW REMAINING CLERGY—CLEMENT VIII ESTABLISHES A SCOTCH COLLEGE AT ROME—JURISDICTION IN SCOTLAND OF AN ENGLISH ARCH-PRIEST DISTASTEFUL—THAT OF AN ENGLISH BISHOP EQUALLY SO—A MISSIONARY BODY UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF A NATIVE SUPERIOR SANCTIONED BY THE HOLY SEE—THE REV. WILLIAM BALLANTYNE PREFECT OF THE MISSION—THE RESTORATION OF THE SEE OF THE ISLES DECREED BY PROPAGANDA—NO INCUMBENT FOUND—FATHER BALLANTYNE PERSECUTED BY THE COVENANTERS—WHEN RESTORED TO LIBERTY HE WAS EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL—DISTINGUISHED CONVERTS—THE MISSION IN A DISORGANIZED CONDITION—FATHER BALLANTYNE LABOURS TO IMPROVE IT.

Only a small number of the Catholic clergy were able to remain at their posts after the "Reformation" was established. These few spread themselves over the country, comforting their brethren and administering to them the sacraments. Between 1580 and 1600 Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, Lazarists and Augustinians established themselves in various districts, to which many of the refugee clergy had re-

tired The Jesuits had stations in Bræmar, Glencairn, Strathglas and Buchan. As may be supposed, there was but slender means of educating Catholics in Scotland. To educate ecclesiastics was utterly impossible. Pope Clement VIII, in view of this evil, founded the Scotch College at Rome, where, ever since, a certain number of clergy for Scotland have received suitable training. There is much valuable information in Father Blackhal's narrative. This zealous priest returned from Paris to Scotland in 1637 and acted as chaplain to the Countess of Aboyne, at Aboyne Castle, at the same time doing duty as a missionary, in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff. There is no record of Father Blackhal's final career. He was at Paris when he wrote his "narrative;" but how long he survived is unknown.

On the death of Bishop Watson of Lincoln, in 1584, an Archpriest was appointed to preside over the clergy of England, with episcopal jurisdiction, also, over the Catholics of Scotland. This arrangement was exceedingly distasteful to the native Scotch. They had an invincible dislike to any foreign authority, especially if it were English. The Scotch priest, Rev. G. Blackwell, was nominated in the year 1598, and was succeeded by a Vicar Apostolic who enjoyed the title and dignity of Bishop of Chalcedon. He also possessed jurisdiction over

Scotland. But, in consequence of repeated representations made by the clergy to the Court of Rome, Pope Gregory XV. ordered the Right Reverend Bishop to cease exercising ecclesiastical authority in Scotland.

It was not till 1629, that proposals were made for constituting a missionary body in Scotland under the jurisdiction of a native superior. In that year Father William O'Gilvy received faculties from Pope Urban VIII., as *Prefect of the Mission*. In 1653, the Scotch secular clergy, freed from the jurisdiction of English Prelates, and the authority of the Order of Jesuits, were incorporated as a missionary body by a decree of Propaganda, and were placed under the superintendence of the Rev. Wm. Ballantyne, who thus became *Prefect of the Mission*. The missionaries were greatly strengthened by this appointment; and indeed, Father Ballantyne administered the affairs of the mission with great ability, and, considering the circumstances of the country, not without success. He was not, however, without his trials. The regular clergy were disinclined to render complete obedience to one who, although possessing extraordinary faculties, was not a consecrated bishop. It was much desired accordingly, that such a dignitary should be appointed, there being no doubt that he would command, as well as deserve, the respect and obedience of all the

clergy, both secular and regular. The missionaries earnestly supplicated the Court of Rome for the appointment of a bishop with jurisdiction over all Scotland. Their request, however, was not complied with till after the time of two Prefects, Messrs. Ballantyne and Winchester.

It was hoped, at this time, to revive the See of the Isles. The scheme for its restoration was not unreasonable, as the majority of the Scotch Catholics belonged to the Highlands and Islands, where, on account of remoteness and comparative inaccessibility, the Catholics were protected from the legal penalties which weighed so heavy on their brethren of the Lowlands. In 1634 the restoration of this See was actually decreed by the Congregation of Propaganda. But an incumbent could not be found. A good Irish priest was suggested. His slight acquaintance with the language and habits of the people was, however, considered an impediment. Father Hugh Semple, of the Society of Jesuits, Rector of the Scotch College of Madrid, speaks in forcible terms of the advantages of such an appointment. "I have desired for many years to see a Bishop in the wild regions of the Hebrides, to instruct and form the priests, to settle disputes among the Catholics, and to administer the sacraments of orders and confirmation; distinguished in his life, his preaching, his manners, his in-

fluence, and possessing the same authority as the Bishops in Ireland. I am aware that the scheme is opposed by many from motives of private advantage, or from excess of timidity, but the glory of God, the public good, the custom, and the advancement of the Church call for it. I know of no one better fitted for the office than the Prefect of the Franciscans in the Scotch missions, in whom all the characteristics of a good pastor are found. I have sent him and his companions some ecclesiastical ornaments and some alms, and I will do my best, every year, to relieve his necessities." The desirable and desired appointment was not yet, however, to be obtained.

Father Ballantyne, the son of a Protestant minister and a convert to the Catholic Faith, having qualified himself for missionary duties in the colleges abroad, came to Scotland in 1649. His *welcome* was of the rudest kind. The Covenanters, who had notice of his coming, seized him and confiscated all his books and papers. Of course he was a prisoner; but, ere long regaining his liberty, he set about fulfilling the duties of his office, without any fear of the dangers by which he was surrounded. He had no hesitation in conversing with Protestants. Endowed with great natural abilities, he had perfected himself by superior studies, and was, in consequence, able to contend with the most learned. He did so with eminent success.

Gifted with extraordinary suavity of manner, those who were most pressed, perhaps chagrined by the cogency of his arguments, shewed no hostility, whilst others were convinced and embraced the Catholic Faith. Of these were several persons of distinction; among whom was his younger brother, Archibald, who, having at first been a page to the Elector Palatine, rose to be major in the army of the Covenanters. He did not long survive his conversion. His death was that of a truly pious Christian.

Father Ballantyne had great difficulties to contend with. Not the least of these was the disorganized state of the missions. For the secular clergy there was no order or regular mode of action. Each priest, ever since the extinction of the hierarchy, was accustomed to do just as he pleased. No one had a special missionary district assigned to him. The whole country, so to say, was the mission of each priest; and the clergy, in consequence, endeavouring to extend their labours to every place, no where produced satisfactory results. It was impossible for them to administer regularly the sacraments, or effectually impart instruction. In cases of severe sickness, it was not known where to find them. Several of them would arrive, at once, at the house of a comparatively poor man who could scarcely afford to entertain even one. Under such circumstances, what was to become

of their sacred ministrations? It was somewhat otherwise with the regular clergy. They at least owed obedience to the superiors of their respective societies, and thus order was maintained. But their disinclination to be guided by the Prefect of the Mission, who was not a Bishop, considerably neutralized their efforts as missionaries.

Father Ballantyne, in order to devise some means for correcting so many evils, repaired to Paris with a view to consult with his brethren in France. He was so fortunate as to meet with a former fellow-student, a man of ability, Mr. William Leslie, who was of a respectable Scotch family. Mr. Leslie, who was completing his preparation for the ministry at the Seminary of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, entered warmly into the views of Father Ballantyne. Cardinal Charles Barberini, the Legate to France, was, at the time, preparing to return to Italy. He was anxious to secure the services of a Scotch Priest to conduct the education of his youthful nephew. Father Ballantyne recommended Mr. Leslie; and, at the same time, imparted to the Legate his purpose of having a representative at the Court of Rome who should have charge to attend to the interests of the Scotch missions. The Cardinal took a favourable view of his plan and promised to support it at Rome with all his influence. Mr. Leslie at first objected

to the arrangement, on the ground that the office which was proposed for him would divert his attention from the service of the mission. He soon, however, yielded to the persuasions of his friend, who represented to him that it would best serve the cause they had at heart, to accept the Legate's offer. It would not only secure to him a respectable maintenance and honourable position in the Holy City, but, at the same time, the countenance and support of the eminent Cardinal. Mr. Leslie, accordingly, proceeded to Rome in the suite of His Eminence; and Father Ballantyne returned to Scotland, accompanied by four of his former fellow-students, Messrs. Walker, Lumsden, Creighton and Smith.

CAP. VII.

TYRANNY OF THE COVENANT—EXTINGUISHED BY CROMWELL—NUMBER AND STRENGTH OF CATHOLICS DIMINISHED—MANY RECONCILED BY FATHER BALLANTYNE—ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSION BY MR. LESLIE OPPOSED AT ROME—PROPAGANDA FAVOURABLE—ORGANIZATION UNDER A PREFECT DECIDED ON—A GRANT OF 500 CROWNS BY PROPAGANDA—PROFESSION OF A SISTER OF THE MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY—FATHER BALLANTYNE'S JOURNEYINGS ON THE OCCASION AND HIS IMPRISONMENT—HE PREACHES BEFORE QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA AT PARIS—AN APOSTATE RECONCILED—DEATH OF FATHER BALLANTYNE—PROPAGANDA ADVISES THE CLERGY TO AVOID POLITICS AND FOREIGN ALLIANCES—MR. WINSTER'S SERVICES—APPOINTED SUCCESSOR TO FATHER BALLANTYNE—PERSECUTING POLICY OF CROMWELL REVERSED—A PERIOD OF PEACE—SCHOOLS IN THE HIGHLANDS—STATE OF THE COUNTRY LITTLE KNOWN AT ROME—SCARCELY ANY CATHOLICS IN THE LOWLANDS—THE OATES' CONSPIRACY—PRIESTS OBLIGED TO CONCEAL THEMSELVES—VISITATION OF THE MISSION IN 1679—VALUABLE STATISTICS THE RESULT—ZEAL OF THE CLERGY SHOWN—THE CONGREGATIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS BEGINNING TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE SUPPORT OF THEIR PASTORS—IMPEDIMENTS TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A BISHOP.

more favourable view of the question. Mr. Leslie, relying on their impartiality, laid before them a detailed account of the state of affairs in Scotland. He imparted to the Cardinals his own views and those of his friends regarding the causes which had militated, hitherto, against the efficiency of the mission, and suggested the means by which it was thought they might be removed. The necessity of appointing a bishop was particularly and earnestly insisted on. The Cardinals of Propaganda had already sufficient experience in the management of missionary countries, to see and recognize the justice of the agent's application. All that he desired, however, could not, at the time, be obtained, so formidable was the opposition to his proposals. Diplomacy is never in a hurry. It was only after three years of negotiation that it was decided that the mission should be regularly organized under a Prefect. But, it could not be obtained that the Prefect should be a bishop. On Father Ballantyne, as Prefect, were conferred very ample faculties, although not so complete as Mr. Leslie had petitioned for. The temporal was not forgotten; 500 crowns of annuity were allotted to ten missionaries. All this was done in 1663, from which year dates the commencement of the Scotch mission. Father Ballantyne and his friends were much gratified by this great, although

At the time of Mr. Ballantyne's return to Scotland, (1650) the tyranny of the Covenant was at its height. From 1637 to 1650, the reign of terror prevailed and raged with redoubled fury in consequence of the defeat and death of the brave Montrose. It was however, near its end. Cromwell won the battle of Dunbar, became master of the North and extinguished the terrible Covenant. As was to be supposed, the number and strength of the Catholics were considerably diminished by such a long and exterminating persecution. Many who had fallen away were reconciled to the Church by Father Ballantyne. Of this number was the Marquess of Huntly, in whose house the Rev. Prefect chiefly resided.

Meanwhile, Mr. Leslie was labouring at Rome in the prosecution of the important work which he had in charge. He was not, however, without opposition. Some from excessive caution, others from interested motives, opposed his plan. There were not wanting among the religious orders, parties who looked more to the importance of their society than the good of religion. Their influence, hitherto paramount among the Catholics of Scotland, would be greatly diminished if the secular mission came to be thoroughly organized. The Congregation of Propaganda, which was recently established, took a

partial success. It appeared to them that a day of prosperity had now dawned for the Catholics of Scotland.

Three years more of useful labours and the zealous Prefect was, in 1656, requested by the Marchioness of Huntly to repair to France in order to be present at the profession of one of her sisters in a community of nuns. The vessel in which he embarked for Dieppe was boarded by an Ostend cruiser, and all the passengers were made prisoners. When they were taken before the Governor at Ostend, Father Ballantyne informed him privately that he was a Catholic priest and was immediately set at liberty. Another passenger, Lord Conway, seeing this, and being ignorant of the cause, concluded that Father Ballantyne was a spy, and threatened to denounce him as such, on his return to Rye, unless he also at once were liberated. The Prefect had no power in the matter, and Conway having gained his liberty in some other way, gave information at Rye, which led to the arrest of Father Ballantyne as a spy of Spain, as soon as he landed in Engiand. He was sent to London and interrogated by Mr. Thurlow, Secretary of the Lord Protector Cromwell. Being pressed to account for his prompt liberation at Ostend, he ventured to run the risk of incurring legal penalties and admitted that he was a priest on a journey. The

Secretary believed him and gave him in charge to a messenger at Westminster. In this man's house he lived for about a year. The Secretary often visited him and acknowledged that he was won by his piety, patience and courteous manner. He was liberated on condition of going into exile. Such were the laws of the time. The Secretary, to his credit let it be told, paid a part of his fees and expenses.

Father Ballantyne found his way back to Paris in great poverty. He thence dispatched a report of his mission to Propaganda. Mr. Leslie, his friend and agent at Rome, obtained for him £50 sterling in order to meet the expenses caused by his imprisonment. There was granted, in addition, a sum that was sufficient for paying his way back to Scotland, and for providing vestments and sacred utensils, of which there was so much need. The Rev. Prefect was not without honour at Paris. By special invitation he preached before the Queen Dowager of Great Britain, Henrietta Maria, in the Church of the English Sisters. At the conclusion of his sermon, Her Majesty presented him with a very fine alb. He reached Scotland without any more mishaps, and resided in the house of the Marchioness of Huntly at Elgin.

During the absence of Father Ballantyne, one of the small body of missionary priests, Mr. Creighton,

was induced, by the prospect of worldly advantages, to conform to the Kirk. This apostacy was a severe blow to the worthy Prefect, who, on his return, visited the erring brother, and by his powerful persuasion, brought him back to the fold. Creighton was truly penitent and signed two recantations, one to be sent to the Presbytery, and the other for distribution among the Catholics. He was in delicate health at the time, and in six weeks after Father Ballantyne's return to Scotland, departed this life in sentiments of sincere piety.

In little more than a year of the time of his return, the venerable Prefect himself was taken from this world. He had retired, after visiting the missionaries, to the house of the Marchioness of Huntly at Elgin, and from thence sent to Rome his report of the state of the mission. He could hardly have been fifty years of age. He was interred in the Marquess of Huntly's aisle in Elgin Cathedral. The magistrates and citizens testified their esteem by attending the funeral. In a letter addressed to Propaganda by Messrs. Winster and Lumsden, in the name of all the missionaries, the writers say: "There has not happened the death of a private person that has been so much regretted by every class of people, Protestants as well as Catholics. The former, though they bear the most inveterate hatred to our holy religion,

loved and esteemed our Prefect. For, Almighty God had endowed him with such a singular degree of prudence, and with a modesty and humility so engaging, as to render him amiable to everyone with whom he conversed. Twelve years he laboured with unremitting assiduity for the propagation of the Faith in this country. From the time of his late long imprisonment he never enjoyed good health. All the helps of physicians and medicines this country could afford were liberally provided for him by the pious Marchioness in whose house he expired." The letter also states that the Prefect was blessed to enjoy in his last moments all the aids and consolations of religion.

Father Ballantyne was a man of highly cultivated mind and most exemplary piety. He will be long lovingly remembered by the Catholics of Scotland, not only as a man of piety and learning, as well as an excellent priest, but also as the founder of the missionary body of secular priests, that has subsisted, always increasing its members and extending its influence, till the restoration of the hierarchy by the reigning Sovereign Pontiff, *Lec XIII.*

In 1657 Mr. Alexander Winster, who had studied at the Scotch College in Rome, came to preside over the mission in Scotland. He was directed, on leaving Rome, to repair to Paris in order to consult with

Mr. Barclay, president of the Scotch College there, in regard to his plan and to arrange with him for holding correspondence with Paris." The Congregation of Propaganda, ever true to its mission, contemplated establishing a school in the Highlands, and it desired Mr. Winster to report on the possibility of founding such an institution. The congregation instructed him, moreover, to restrict himself to preaching the gospel, only, and not France or Spain, and, by no means, to interfere in politics, or encourage rebellion. Propaganda was well aware how injurious to the cause of religion had been the frequent and ineffectual attempts of the Scotch Catholics to obtain the aid of foreign powers in order to secure their deliverance from the evils of persecution. The ability and active habits of Mr. Winster enabled him to render signal services to his brethren. It was through his skilful management that Father Ballantyne was liberated from prison. It was difficult and dangerous, in those times, to hold any correspondence on Catholic affairs. Mr. Winster overcame this difficulty by adopting an ambiguous and obscure style, so that his language could only be interpreted by those to whom he wished to convey information. He was the only one of the missionaries who could venture to correspond with friends on the continent, on political matters as well as religion; and he always did so with

impunity. As a missionary he was zealous and most useful. Although very much younger than his Brethren, he soon gained their confidence. Such was Father Ballantyne's opinion of him that he associated him with Mr. Lumsden in the temporary charge of the mission, whilst he was himself absent from the country. On the death of the venerable Prefect, Mr. Winster was unanimously chosen, by the missionaries, vice-Prefect. Their choice was ratified by Propaganda. In June, 1662, the congregation appointed him successor to Father Ballantyne.

The restoration of King Charles II. was a fortunate event for the Catholics of Scotland, and they were led to hope that their worst trials were at an end. The marriage of the King with a Catholic Princess greatly improved their prospects. The estates which had been confiscated by Cromwell, were restored, and there was even some hope that the penal laws would be moderated if not entirely repealed. There were, however, outbreaks of fanaticism in remote and ignorant localities, that could not be influenced by public opinion. The mission, now under the superintendence of Mr. Winster, did not fail to avail itself of this period of comparative calm, to promote its growth and consolidation. As we have seen, the secular clergy were without government, and consequently, followed no system in the exercise of their

missionary duties. They could now, under the guidance of a superior whom they respected, render great and lasting services to the cause of religion. They were somewhat impeded, however, by a certain amount of jealousy on the part of the religious orders. Without being a religious society, they had, and by authority, assumed the form and order of one. Hence there could not well fail to be some degree of rivalry. Nevertheless, much good was accomplished and great peace enjoyed during the ten years that succeeded the death of Father Ballantyne. It was during this peaceful time that the first endeavour was made to establish schools in the Highlands. In those days, fifty crowns a year was considered a sufficient income for a missionary priest; and the same amount was allotted to each schoolmaster. Two schools were established, one in Glengarry, and the other in the Island of Barra. The Cardinals of Propaganda could have had no idea of the geography of Scotland, when they required that Catholic children from all parts of the country should attend those schools. The worthy Prefect, however, was able to show them that such attendance was impossible. In fact, he plainly told them that Catholics in Scotland would as lief send their children to be educated in the West Indies, as in the Island of Barra. The state of the mission, at the time, and the distribution of

Catholics scattered over the country, were but little known at Rome. Hence the resolution of Propaganda that a missionary priest should be placed in charge of each of the ancient dioceses. This idea they abandoned on being better informed by Mr. Winster, who represented that, whilst in the ancient diocese of the Isles, there were so many Catholics as to require the services of five priests, in other parts of the country, the Lowlands particularly, there was scarcely one Catholic.

The Prefect now strongly urged that a visitation of the mission should be made, as the best means of informing the Propaganda, and a report of the same by a competent priest laid before the Cardinals. The peace which the Catholics had enjoyed for some time was now seriously disturbed and their sufferings increased by the Oates' conspiracy in 1678. Mobs and riotous assemblies became so threatening that the missionary priests were obliged to conceal themselves for several months. In the following year, 1679, the visitation which the Prefect so much desired took place. It is necessary to refer to it, as whatever is known of the state of the mission at the time, is derived from it. The decree of Propaganda, originating it, is dated 1677; but, it was not undertaken until the agitation caused by the Oates' conspiracy, had subsided, Mr. Alexander Leslie, a brother of the

Scotch agent at Rome, was chosen visitor. This gentleman was not without experience. He had served the mission, ten years, as a priest. The country was in such a disordered state, the Presbyterian population being at war with their Sovereign, that Mr. Leslie found it difficult to fulfil the duties of his office. He managed, however, to visit all the districts in which there were Catholics, and conversed with the leading parties among them, and with the priests. He thus became familiar with their state and requirements, collecting, at the same time, information for his report. He considered the number of Catholic communicants in the whole country to be 14,000. Of this number, 12,000 inhabited the Highlands, where, from the remoteness and comparative inaccessibility of the country, they were safer than their brethren in the Lowlands, who, on account of the close proximity of the courts of law, were, at every moment, in danger of the penal laws. The few Catholics of the Lowlands were widely scattered. In Galloway there were 350; in Glasgow and the neighbourhood, 50; in Forfarshire and Kincardineshire, 72; in Aberdeenshire, 405; in Banffshire, 1,000; and in Morayshire, 8. In the Highlands there were only four priests, all of whom, except one, were from Ireland. They were all most zealous. Neither the stormiest weather, nor the

worst of roads, could hinder them from going to assist the dying. But owing to distance and the difficulty of travelling, they often arrived too late. With the exception of some chaplains, none of them had fixed residences. This was attended with great inconvenience, both as regarded themselves and their flocks. It was scarcely ever known where to find them, and the habit of moving constantly from place to place, rendered it impossible for them to apply to the necessary studies. In Mr. Ballantyne's time an endeavour was made to induce each priest to limit himself to a certain sphere of duty, but the good Prefect had no authority to enforce such a regulation. Hence, notwithstanding the best endeavours of the clergy, only few Catholics could hear Mass oftener than thrice in the year, while, for months together, whole districts were without any spiritual ministrations. In addition, the missionaries suffered from the inadequacy of their incomes. Almost all that they had to rely on was a subsidy of 500 crowns, granted by Propaganda for the whole mission. The people had not yet learned to supply the temporal wants of their pastors. The Church, in its better days, had no need of such aid. On the contrary, the churchmen of Scotland were always able, and they were often called upon to assist even the Sovereign with the funds at their command, The Highland

Catholics were the first to yield to the representations of the clergy, and out of their poverty contributed as much as they could afford. The parsimonious Lowlanders, with the exception of some rich and noble families who maintained chaplains, refused and continued to refuse, for another century, to contribute anything towards the support of their pastors. The question was again raised as to confining each priest to a certain district. But opinion was so divided that it was considered nothing could be done, in this direction, till the appointment of a bishop. Such appointment was desirable and much desired; but there were many impediments; not the least of which was the impossibility, at the time, of providing for him a sufficient income. There was also an obstacle in the state of the country. The Presbyterians had become somewhat reconciled to the idea of Presbyters living amongst them. Their prejudice against bishops was as inveterate as ever. It was all the more so on account of the attempts to force upon the country "bishops" according to the Anglican establishment.

CAP. VIII.

A DISTRICT ASSIGNED TO EACH PRIEST, AS HIS PARISH—
MR. LESLIE ON HIS RETURN FROM ROME, IMPRI-
SONED—HIS GREAT REPUTATION FOR SANCTITY—
FAVOURED WITH EXTRAORDINARY WARNINGS OF
DANGER—YEARLY MEETING OF THE CLERGY AND
REPORT TO PROPAGANDA DECREED—FIRST MEETING
IN 1686—UNIFORM STYLE DESIRED; OLD STYLE
BEING STILL GENERALLY FOLLOWED IN GREAT BRI-
TAIN—ACCESSION OF JAMES II. AND VII—THE
HIGH HOPES OF CATHOLICS DISAPPOINTED—RIOT AT
EDINBURGH—PERSECUTION CONTINUED TILL THE
ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY; MODERATED AS
THEIR REIGN PROCEEDED—REMARKABLE TESTI-
MONY—"A DISGRACEFUL LAW" (KNIGHT) NULLIFIED
BY KING WILLIAM AND THE JUDGES—A BISHOP
DESIRED—REV. THOMAS NICHOLSON APPOINTED—
AT FIRST MUCH PERSECUTED, THIS PRELATE SUR-
VIVED 20 YEARS, IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS LABORIOUS
DUTIES.

When Mr. Leslie's visitation came to an end, he repaired to Rome (1680) and reported it in person to the Cardinals of Propaganda. It led to the promulgation of several salutary regulations. Among

other things it was ordained that the priests should confine themselves, each to a certain district which should be to him as his parish, and thus be more useful to the people under his spiritual charge. It is not a little extraordinary that the religious orders strenuously opposed this arrangement, claiming the right to exercise their ministry, as hitherto, in all parts of the country. Their persistence in this Peripatetic system caused great inconvenience to the secular clergy, particularly at the Easter time.

On his return to Scotland, Mr. Leslie was cast into prison, during the evil days that occurred in consequence of the Revolution of 1688. In order to escape the myrmidons of the law, he had assumed the name of "hardboots." But it is not certain that this was not a nickname insultingly applied. He enjoyed among his contemporaries the reputation of being a very holy man. It would be too much to say that he was favoured with miraculous interventions. But the following circumstance affords ground for believing that he lived under special providential protection. During the worst times of persecution he was sometimes forewarned of danger by a preternatural shaking of his bed at night. This was particularly the case when he was residing in the house of Glastirum in the Enzie, Banffshire. All of a sudden his bed began to shake. He rose and

struck a light. At the time there were several parties of soldiers scouring the country in search of priests. Seeing a light at Glastirum, a house which was much resorted to by the Catholic clergy, they concluded that some of their friends were already there, and so thought it unnecessary to search the house themselves. The same thing occurred to him at Fyvie in Aberdeenshire. Aroused there by the shaking of his bed, he was enabled to get away from a party of soldiers in pursuit of him. He was, however, caught at last and imprisoned for two years. He died at Banff in the beginning of last century.

The secular clergy were now in the habit of confining themselves to their respective charges. The pious Jesuits came at last, also, to accept the new and better arrangement. It was regulated, likewise, after the presentation of Mr. Leslie's report, that the missionary priests should meet once in the year, and report on the state of the mission to the Cardinals of Propaganda. It was difficult for the poor and scattered clergy to comply with this requirement. The worthy Prefect represented accordingly, and pleaded for a mitigation of the rule. But to no purpose. Propaganda insisted, threatening even to withdraw the annual subsidy unless the meeting were held and the report presented every year. The first meeting was in 1686. Many questions of discipline were dis-

cussed and referred to Propaganda. Among these were the marriages of the people and the celebration of Easter and other Festivals according to a uniform style. Some had adopted the new style, whilst others adhered to the old, which was still generally followed, in Great Britain, for many years. The meeting, in their report, earnestly prayed the Cardinals to send more priests and to augment the yearly subsidy. They failed not also to request that their Eminences would continue their careful superintendence.

The hopes of the Catholics were greatly raised by the accession of James II. to the throne of Great Britain. What might they not expect under the rule of a Catholic King? A new era, they believed, had come. Persecution would be no more, and everything favour the growth of the Catholic Faith. How grievously were they not disappointed! It was not unreasonable, however, that relying on the good will of the well intentioned but weak Monarch, they should endeavour to have a Bishop appointed, and otherwise improve their condition. They naturally looked to the Catholic King, as well as to Rome, in petitioning for a Bishop. Their earnest endeavours, however, were all frustrated by hostile intrigues. They renewed their efforts on occasion of the English Catholics obtaining Bishops. This time, 1688, they were dis-

appointed by the overthrow of King James. They were now at the mercy of ignorant and fanatical mobs. A fearful riot occurred at Edinburgh. The chapel of Holyrood, which had been recently renewed at great cost, was attacked and defaced. The house of the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of the Kingdom, and a recent convert to the Catholic Faith, was sacked, and a general search made for priests and altar furnishings. The Prefect, who resided at Edinburgh for some months before the riot, and had won so much the general esteem, escaped arrest. The mob, once masters of the city, however, he was obliged to take refuge in the castle, which was held by the Duke of Gordon for King James. He retired afterwards to the North, on bail, and resided, once more, at Gordon Castle. One may imagine how it fared with the missionary clergy throughout the country. Some were seized and imprisoned, others were banished the Kingdom. They who remained were in constant dread and danger of arrest.

The persecution moderated as the new reign proceeded. The French Ambassador, M. Tallard, wrote to his Court in 1698, that the Catholic religion "is here tolerated more openly than it was even in the time of King Charles II., and it seems evident that the King of England has determined to leave it in peace." This important testimony regards Scot-

land as well as England, William III. being King of both countries. The intolerant Parliament, which, in opposition to the King's declared wishes, passed the infamous act "for preventing the growth of Popery," bears witness to the same effect. In the preamble to the said act, it recites "that there has been a greater resort into this Kingdom than formerly, of Popish bishops, priests and Jesuits." It is then enacted that "any person apprehending and prosecuting to conviction, any such bishop, priest or Jesuit, for saying Mass or exercising any priestly function, is to receive a reward of a hundred pounds. The punishment for such convicted persons, or for a Papist keeping a school, is to be perpetual imprisonment. Every person educated in the Popish religion, upon attaining the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, and the worship of saints, and in default of such oath and subscription, is declared incapable of purchasing lands, or of inheriting lands under any devise or limitation, the next of kin being a Protestant, to enjoy such devised lands during life." This atrocious act, Mr. Knight, in his "Popular History of England," characterizes as the most *disgraceful* law of the reign. It aimed at the total extirpation of the Catholic inhabitants of the United Kingdom. As to the tolerant

disposition of King William, who protected them hitherto, it continued still to shield them in the face of the above savage enactment. In this the Monarch was supported by the better spirit that prevailed among the people. The Judges also, unlike the Jeffreys *et hoc genus omne*, of a former reign, by their ingenious interpretations of the statute, mercifully frustrated the designs of parties who were so malevolent as to prosecute. "The judges," writes Mr. Hallam, "put such constructions on the clause of forfeiture, as to elude its efficacy; and I believe there were scarcely any instances of a loss of property under this law." King William, with all his inclination to be tolerant, could not, as he was a constitutional Sovereign, place himself in opposition to his Parliament. His predecessor, being an absolute Monarch, did so when he proclaimed liberty of conscience. It cost him his throne and brought a flood of evils on the people whom he wished to serve. King William often suffered the greatest anguish of mind in bowing to the will of Parliament. But he held his ground, and, by his extraordinary force of character, caused his principles to be respected. He must no doubt have been influenced in this direction by the friendship shown him by two Popes, Innocent the XI. and Alexander VIII. "William indeed was not their friend, but he was their enemy's enemy as

James had been, and if restored must again be their enemy's vassal. To the heretic nephew, therefore, they gave their effective support, to the orthodox uncle only compliments and benedictions." (Macaulay.) However, this may be, the cruel penal laws, during King William's reign, were so far relaxed as to be almost a nullity.

The Catholics of Scotland hoped to enjoy better times under the reign of the Catholic Monarch, James II. and VII. Buoyed by this hope, they resolved to petition for the appointment of a Bishop to rule their greatly diminished Church. They applied to the King as well as to the See of Rome; and at first it was thought their application met with more favour at London than at Rome. The Prefect, the Abbot of Ratisbon, and a Superior of the Scotch College at Paris, urged their suit at Court. But the negotiations which they undertook in order to induce King James to support their petition at Rome, were opposed and finally rendered fruitless by influences similar to those which had so often been actively at work to thwart the views presented to the Roman Court by the secular priests of Scotland. The project, however, was not abandoned. Their petition was renewed from time to time; and with more confidence than ever, when the English Catholics obtained the appointment of Bishops in 1688. In that year, however, the overthrow

of the Catholic Monarch caused them to be once more disappointed. Meanwhile, the religious orders, who had always opposed the appointment of a bishop, deprived of the support of the Catholic King who favoured them more than their secular brethren, gradually disappeared, after having done much to keep alive the Catholic religion in Scotland. After the first shock experienced on the downfall of King James, a period of comparative tranquility, as has already been shown, was enjoyed; and the few Catholics that remained renewed their representations, and at last obtained the appointment of a bishop. In 1694 the choice fell on the Rev. Thomas Nicholson, who was named Bishop of Peristachium, Vicar Apostolic of all Scotland:

This prelate was not always a Catholic. Being born of Protestant parents, Thomas Nicholson, of Kemnay, and Elizabeth Abercrombie, of Birkenbog, in Banffshire, he was brought up according to their ideas. When of age, having studied to good purpose, he was appointed one of the Regents or Professors of the University of Glasgow; an office which he held for fourteen years. In 1682 he became a Catholic; and the same year went to study at Padua. He was not long there when he removed to the Scotch College at Douai, in order to complete his theological studies. In the course of three years he was promoted there to the priesthood;

and in December, 1687, he returned to Scotland in order to fulfil there the duties of a missionary priest. Although possessed of a sufficient patrimony he had preferred being ordained "sub titulo missionis." On occasion of the persecution which followed on the downfall of James II. he was seized along with many other priests of Scotland, cast into prison and then banished the kingdom. He was at Edinburgh, however, at the time of the riot above referred to, and was obliged to leave his residence at midnight, making his escape through the midst of the mob, by whom he was not recognized. He was arrested afterwards at Stirling and imprisoned for some months there and at Edinburgh. His brother was admitted as bail for him on condition that he would leave the country and never return. Such was the price of liberty. He settled in France, which was the land of refuge for the greater number of the exiled clergy of Scotland. While in that country, he officiated for three years as chaplain to a community of nuns at Dunkirk. When in 1694, the cardinals of Propaganda resolved that a bishop should be appointed to rule the mission of Scotland, Mr. Nicholson was chosen in August of that year, to fill this high dignity. The Briefs creating him Bishop of Peristachium and Vicar Apostolic of Scotland were promptly expedited, and he was consecrated at Paris, being still under

sentence of exile, in the private chapel of the archiepiscopal palace. Mascaron, the celebrated preacher of the time, was the consecrating bishop; Barillon, Bishop of Lucon, and Ratabon of Ypres were the assistant bishops. For want of the necessary passports he was obliged to delay some time in Holland and Germany on his way to Scotland. On reaching London, in November, 1696, he was apprehended and detained in prison till May, 1697. As soon as he was at liberty, he proceeded on his journey, and passing through Edinburgh in the middle of July, he repaired to Gordon Castle, and there held conference with the neighbouring clergy on the state and prospects of missionary matters. After the first shock of the revolution had come comparative peace, and the worthy bishop was blessed to continue, during twenty years, without any serious molestation, the exercise of his Episcopal functions. The field of his labours being so extensive, he could not remain any length of time in one place. He visited repeatedly almost every part of Scotland, extending his journeys to the remotest Islands, encouraging the clergy and their flocks, administering confirmation in districts where none had enjoyed the benefit of this Sacrament since the extinction of the ancient hierarchy.

CAP. IX.

AN INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF THE HOUSE OF STEWART, 1715—BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR—FLIGHT OF JAMES III. AND VIII—ESCAPE OF THE EARL OF NITHSDALE—POPULAR FEELING HOSTILE TO CATHOLICS—IDEA OF TOLERATION ENTERTAINED BY SOME—SECRETARY OF STATE STANHOPE, PROPOSES A MITIGATION OF THE PENAL LAWS—THE MISSION CONSTITUTED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE A LIVING CHURCH—THE STATUTA MISSIONIS ADOPTED—ADMINISTRATORS APPOINTED—IN 1703, SEVENTEEN SECULAR PRIESTS, SEVEN JESUITS, FOUR BENEDICTINES AND FIVE FRANCISCANS—PRESHOME THE BISHOP'S RESIDENCE—500 CATHOLICS IN BREMAR WHERE THE CHURCH OWNED NO LAND—A PRIEST DRAGGED FROM THE ALTAR—DEATH OF BISHOP NICHOLSON, 1718.

In the time of Bishop Nicholson there occurred an event which was the occasion of serious annoyance to the Catholics of Scotland. A discontented nobleman of the Court of London, the Earl of Mar, came in 1715 to Scotland, his native country, and raised an insurrection against the reigning family in favour of the heir male of the House of Stewart, the Chevalier St. George, or, as he was styled by his

adherents, James the third and eighth. The adventurous Earl succeeded in collecting a small army consisting of Highlanders and some enthusiastic Jacobites of the Lowlands. There were some ineffectual skirmishers in Scotland. A battle was lost in the north of England; and finally, at Sheriffmuir in Scotland, the Earl of Mar, at the head of his force, met the army of the existing government commanded by the Duke of Argyle. Neither party succeeded in defeating the other; but, the result was practically a victory for Argyle, the Jacobites under the leadership of Mar retiring to the City of Perth. They were joined there by the exiled Prince, a circumstance which, far from adding to their strength, tended to destroy any little prestige they may have possessed. The unmilitary appearance of James the third and eighth was but little calculated to raise the courage of the soldiery. He kept aloof from them, never reviewing them or seeing them on parade. He seemed to think that mere ceremony could make a King. He had himself crowned, with all the grandeur imaginable, at Scone, where the ancient Monarchs of Scotland were inaugurated; and as if this had made him King, he surrounded himself with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. Assuming command in place of his Lieutenant, the Earl of Mar, he gave orders that the country between Perth and Sheriffmuir should be

laid waste in order to prevent the advance of the enemy. This was a cruel measure which he only believed to be justified by the necessity of the case. To his credit, let it be said, that he afterwards sent a sum of money to the Duke of Argyle to be distributed as compensation to the people whose property he had caused to be destroyed. His hard precaution was of no avail. The enemy bravely made their way over the snow and through the desolated villages. Another battle was not risked. The Jacobite army, that had fought so gallantly at Sheriffmuir, had no heart to renew the fray, and the whole force, on the approach of Argyle's men, melted away like snow beneath the summer sky. The Prince himself was among the first to seek safety in flight. He escaped in disguise, and, in due course, reached the coast of France.

Now came the justice of a strong and stern government. Several noblemen who had been leaders in the rebellion were condemned to death. The rank and file were more mercifully dealt with. In some cases the headsman was disappointed of his prey. The Earl of Nithsdale escaped through the cleverness and daring of his wife. The Countess of Nithsdale had so far gained by liberal presents the good will of the guards of her husband's prison in the Tower of London, that they allowed her access to

him whenever she pleased. It became a lady of such high ranks to be attended by a maid or a relative. This also was permitted. On the day before that on which Lord Nithsdale was to be executed, the countess, accompanied by a tall lady the same height as her husband, visited the prison. The tall lady gave her dress to the prisoner and he was carefully arrayed in it, the countess altering somewhat the colour of his face and concealing his beard. He then assumed the attitude of the lady who had come in, bending down, oppressed with sorrow, shedding tears and holding a handkerchief to her face. In all this the prisoner's imitation was perfect and he passed the guards in safety. To give him time to reach some place of refuge, the countess held a pretended conversation with him in his prison, speaking to him and then imitating his voice in reply. Lord Nithsdale escaped to France, where he was soon joined by the countess, and where they spent the remainder of their days in peace and happiness. A record of this wonderful escape was written by the Countess of Nithsdale herself, and is carefully preserved by the family to this day. The manuscript of the countess has been wrought into a beautiful and interesting narrative by Lady Dacre.

As most of the parties engaged in the ill fated insurrection were either Catholics or non-juring

Episcopalians, the former who had, for some time, been gaining in popular favour, incurred a new measure of odium. It does not appear that any extreme persecution was carried on against them. But there was a persecution of popular feeling which rendered it more difficult for the clergy to exercise the duties of their office. There were those, nevertheless, who considered that the penal laws ought to be mitigated and Catholics placed more on an equality with their fellow-citizens. This happy idea, indicative of a more enlightened time, found its way into the cabinet of King George and the British Parliament. Secretary of State Stanhope, in proposing a measure of toleration to the House of Commons, "desired to repeal not only the act against occasional conformity, the schism act and the test act, but also to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics." (Knight, Hist. of Eng.) This was too much for the time; but it says something for the improving spirit of the age, that, although this clause was rejected, it was not without powerful support in Parliament. The very idea of placing Catholics on a juster footing of equality with the rest of the people, would not, for a moment, have been entertained by the Parliament of King William which enacted the cruel penal laws in opposition to the strongly expressed will of their Sovereign. To return to Bishop Nicholson. It had been regulated in the time of the second and last Prefect

that each priest for the more effectual discharge of his duties, should limit himself to a certain district. This regulation was imperfectly complied with, there not being sufficient authority to enforce it. It was now renewed, and having the sanction of the bishop, came into full operation. It gave a new character to the mission in vesting it with the form of a living church, each priest having what might be called his parish, and he himself being a *quasi* parish priest. None could act in his district without his permission, and none but such as were approved by the bishop could obtain that permission.

The bishop also prepared a body of regulations for the disciplinary guidance of the clergy, which were called *statuta missionis*. They were unanimously adopted at a general meeting of the clergy, held in 1700, and continued in force till they were extended by Bishop Hay. The same meeting resolved on another beneficial measure which greatly facilitated the management of the mission, Seven of the most experienced priests were appointed *Administrators* in order to attend to the interests of the clergy generally, to represent them and act for them, whilst they should also give the bishop the benefit of their advice, and, subject to his supervision, manage the temporal affairs of the mission. Their number was afterwards, in the time of Bishop Nicholson's successor, 1719, increased to nine.

A very full and interesting report of the state of the mission, presented to the congregation of Propaganda in 1703, shews that, at that time, there were seventeen secular priests, two of whom were Irishmen, in Scotland. There were also seven Jesuits, four Benedictines and five Irish Franciscans, in all thirty-three missionary Priests. It may appear extraordinary, but, it is, nevertheless, related as a fact, that the seven Jesuits were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop Vicar Apostolic. The Benedictines and Franciscans were so subject.

The Bishop's residence was at Preshome in the Enzie, county of Banff. He could not, however, very often be there, as he was almost always engaged in episcopal visitations. It was also the home of the Procurator of the mission and the principal missionary station. There, the clergy, for the most part, held their meetings. There was no place where they could be more free from molestation, the influence of the Gordons being predominant in that part of the country. This influence also moderated the rulers of the land, who, besides, were beginning to act on more liberal principles. There still remained some twelve Catholic barons who afforded powerful protection to their brethren in religion, especially on their own estates.

In 1706, the absence from the country of the Earl of Mar, who had a great antipathy to the Catholic

religion, gave the bishop an opportunity of visiting Bræmar. It would have been dangerous, if at all possible at any other time. He found there as many as five hundred Catholics. When so many fell away all around them, how happened it, we may inquire, that they remained steadfast in the faith? They themselves ascribed this blessing to the fact that the Church possessed no lands among them, and hence none were tempted to apostatize for the sake of gain. No doubt this was one of the chief causes. But, they owed much to their parish priest of the time, who was a very pious man, courageous as well as pious, and much loved by his flock. Instead of retiring in the evil days, yielding to the storm of persecution that raged so violently, he remained with his people, encouraging them by his presence and example, and exhorting them to persevere in their religion. It was not to be supposed that so zealous a priest should always escape the attentions of the ever-persistent enemy. Nor was it so. He was dragged from the altar one day by a band of fanatics. But even this sacrilegious outrage did not shake his fortitude. The moment of danger over, he fearlessly returned to the exercise of his sacred calling.

Bishop Nicholson died on the 23rd of October, N. S., 1718, at Preshome, where he usually resided when not engaged in visiting the missions. He was

buried on the site of the ancient altar, in the chapel of St. Ninian's there, of which there now remains only one corner stone. Bishop Gordon, his successor, composed an epitaph which is still to be seen on the flat slab which covers the grave of the deceased bishop. It is Latin and is of considerable length. It ends with these words, having passed a high eulogium on the departed Prelate.

. VIXIT
ANNOS CIRCITER 76. OBIIT

QUARTO IDUS OCTOBRIS
ANNO REPARATAE SALUTIS

1718.

CAP. X.

BIRTH OF RT. REV. PATRICK GORDON—COADJUTOR TO BISHOP NICHOLSON—3,000 CATHOLICS CONFIRMED IN THE HIGHLANDS IN 1700—DIFFICULTY OF TRAVELLING IN THE HIGHLANDS—VICAR-GENERAL FOR THE HIGHLANDS—FIRST ORDINATION OF A PRIEST IN SCOTLAND SINCE THE "REFORMATION"—2,242 PERSONS CONFIRMED—VISITATION IN LOWLANDS—FREQUENT PROSECUTIONS THERE—POPULAR DREAD OF CATHOLICS—DIVISION OF MISSION INTO LOWLAND AND HIGHLAND DISTRICTS—SCALAN FOUNDED—MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PROPOSED VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE HIGHLANDS—DEATH OF THE LAST CATHOLIC DUKE OF GORDON—A PLOT AGAINST THE BISHOP—BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—DEATH OF BISHOP GORDON, 1746.

James Gordon, son of Patrick Gordon of Glas-tirum, and a cadet of the Latterfourie Family, was born, 1664, in the district of the Enzie, County of Banff. In 1680 he went to commence and complete his ecclesiastical studies at the Scotch College of Paris. In due course he was ordained priest and returned to Scotland in 1692. He laboured in his native district till 1702. He was then sent to Rome.

as assistant to Mr. William Leslie, who was still agent of the Scotch mission in its relations with the Holy See. While there he was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Nicholson, and consecrated by Cardinal Barbarigo, Bishop of Nicopolis, at Montefiascone, on Low Sunday, the 11th April, 1706. He came to Scotland the same year, and succeeded Bishop Nicholson in 1718 as Vicar Apostolic.

In passing through France, he repaired to St. Germain and paid his respects to the exiled King and Royal Family. He then travelled by way of Holland, and arrived at Aberdeen by the end of July. He found Bishop Nicholson in a state of great affliction, some priests having become incapacitated by age, and, what was worse, others having fallen and given scandal. In such sorrowful circumstances he stood in need of consolation ; and the arrival of his coadjutor was a source of joy to him.

In 1707, a general meeting of the clergy had been held, and new divisions, or districts, assigned to both the secular and regular priests. Of the former there were, at the time, fifteen, and of the latter twenty-one, viz : eleven Jesuits, four Benedictines, one Augustinian and five Franciscans. These figures show that there was an increase in the number of the clergy since the accession of Bishop Nicholson. Bishop Nicholson had made a visitation of the Highlands in

1700 and confirmed 3,000 Catholics. He had found it impossible to undertake another visitation ; and Bishop Gordon now resolved to visit the Highlands for the first time. He was not, however, able to set out so early in the season as he desired, having to attend to a congregation that was, at the time, without a priest. He was thus engaged throughout Lent and till after Easter. He then fell ill in consequence of over-exertion. He was able, at length, by the beginning of June, to commence his journey. He was accompanied by a youthful deacon who could not speak Gaelic. The party travelled through Badenoch, and, in five days, reached Glengarry. There they had the last meal of bread and meat that they were to enjoy for several weeks to come. Pretty comfortable beds could be made of such materials as were at hand—heather, grass or straw. But the huts, in which they were spread, freely admitted the rain in wet weather. The Bishop might have provided for travelling more comfortably. But he was passing through a country where some of the better sort of people sought no better way of living, and he wished to avoid all appearance of luxury. Two of the senior priests of the Highlands who were to accompany him on his visitation, met him at Glengarry. As there was a garrison of soldiers there, he was advised to proceed to the remoter parts of the

country before commencing his episcopal duties. Guided by this counsel, he sent back his horses and continued his journey on foot. This he did, partly to avoid notice, and partly to set an example of endurance to those who accompanied him. At Glenquoich the difficulty of advancing was still greater. Some of the rough mountain tracks were such that the travellers were obliged to scramble over them on all fours. There were frequent precipices which made their advance dangerous as well as difficult; and the swamps, which they had to traverse, rendered it impossible for them to keep their feet dry. The Bishop, however, kept up the spirits of the party by the buoyancy of his own. At the head of one of the Lochs they were met by Glengarry's brother, who conveyed them in a boat to his house, some miles distant. Here they rested for a couple of days, and on the 20th repaired to the Laird of Knoydart's House. The proper work of the visitation was now begun. On the Sunday following the day of the Bishop's arrival, the people were called together and confirmation administered. Next day the party reached an island in Loch Morar, and, on the Tuesday, proceeded, partly by this loch, and partly by land, to Arisaig, and the same day embarked in the Laird of Moydart's boat, in order to be conveyed to the Island

of Uist. A contrary wind obliged them to land at Eigg, where the people were catechised and otherwise prepared for confirmation. These duties occupied two days. One of the priests preached in Gælic; and after Mass the Bishop delivered a short sermon which a priest translated into Gælic. Such was the usual order of proceeding on occasion of confirmation being administered. Only once, or twice, was this order departed from, when preaching was omitted in order to shorten the service and avoid being surprised by the soldiers. On occasion of these services, the Bishop generally conversed with the leading people of the different localities in order to be informed of the state of their congregations.

The party now, June 26th, passed over to Rum, and the following day landed at Uist. In this large island they were hospitably entertained at the house of the laird. On the 29th confirmation was administered according to the usual order; and on the 30th the Bishop and his friends sailed for Barra. The four first days of July were spent there and in the small island of Watersay, the priest of which received from the Bishop a copy of the *statuta missionis*. The Bishop returned to Uist, visiting also Benbecula. When in Uist he appointed a vicar-general in order to exercise the duties of inspection over all the islands. On sailing

from Canna, after having given instruction and confirmation there, he was in danger of being shipwrecked. His boat was on the point of being lost in a gale, when one of the priests, who understood something of seamanship, brought the party safe next morning to the Island of Eigg. Confirmation was then held at Arisaig.

It may be mentioned, as illustrating the intolerance which still prevailed, that the Bishop could not go to Moydart, soldiers being stationed there; but was obliged to invite the people of that country to come to him for instruction and confirmation at Ardness. He then repaired to Borodale, and thence over "the rough bounds," to Knoydart. At Scothouse in that district, he conferred the order of priesthood on the deacon, who had accompanied him from Preshome and appointed him a missionary for the Highlands. This was the first ordination of a priest in Scotland since the "Reformation." Returning south, the Bishop staid three days in Strathglass, instructing and administering confirmation. He did the same in Glengarry, but, very privately, as there was a garrison there. Fatigue and insufficient food now caused a fever, which did not, however, oblige the Bishop to discontinue his travels. He made his visitation of Lochaber, and then proceeding to Badenoch, took leave of the two priests who had

accompanied him. An attack of dysentery did not prevent him from pursuing his journey, and passing down Strathspey, he reached his brother's house at Balnacraig on Aug. 21st.

During the visitation 2,242 persons had been confirmed; and no molestation was experienced. This immunity from all trouble must, no doubt, be ascribed to the great prudence with which the mission was conducted. The Bishop often renewed his visitation of the Highlands. He spent a whole winter there, 1710-1711, and was heard to say that he enjoyed better health there than in the Lowlands. His object in staying so long was to learn the habits of the people, and acquire a sufficient knowledge of their language so as to be better able to impart instruction on occasion of his visitations.

A great increase of labour fell to the share of the coadjutor, as the health of Bishop Nicholson began to fail. The year after his visitation of the Highlands, to which reference has been made, he visited every part of the Lowlands, a task all the more difficult as the Catholics there were fewer in number and more widely scattered than in the Highlands. They were also more exposed to annoying prosecutions, being nearer the courts of law, and surrounded by neighbours who looked upon them as rebels and idolators. Bishop Gordon gave them great comfort

and encouragement on occasion of administering confirmation. Notwithstanding the engrossing nature of his episcopal duties, he was able to maintain a vigorous correspondence with the Cardinals of Propaganda. It has been truly remarked that his letters are characterized by "singular elegance of language, strength, justness and animation of sentiment."

In addition to the inveterate prejudice against their religion, the Catholics were subject to suspicion on account of so many of their number having borne an active part in the cause of the exiled Royal Family. There thus hung over them a two-fold mistrust. They were avoided as enemies of the "true religion," and dreaded as partisans who might rise in arms against the established order of things. It is, indeed, under the circumstances, matter for surprise that the persecution was not more active than it was. The patience and fortitude of the Catholics in those days of gloom and despondency were powerfully sustained by the presence among them of bishops and priests of their Church.

In the year 1712 it was resolved to establish in a remote and comparatively inaccessible part of the country a seminary for the education of Scotch ecclesiastics. A place called Scalan, on the estate of the Duke of Gordon, in a mountainous region, known as "the Cabrach," was selected as the seat

of this institution, which was destined, although very humble in its beginnings, to receive, at no distant date, very wonderful developments. In its remote abode, even, it did good service, and that for not less than a century.

As has already been shown, the Jacobite affair of 1715 brought a new storm of troubles on the Catholics of Scotland; as well as those of England. But, it was a less merciless age, and would not tolerate such atrocious acts of cruelty as had disgraced preceding periods of our history.

For some years Bishop Gordon entertained the opinion that it was expedient to divide the Vicariate of Scotland, so as that the Highland regions and the Lowland should each have a Bishop Vicar Apostolic. The clergy generally now came to share his views, and the time was come, he conceived, when Propaganda should be addressed on the subject. He made the necessary proposal accordingly, and, at the same time, recommended the Rev. Alexander Grant, the President of the seminary at Scalan, as the most suitable person to be appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands. Everything connected with this important matter was proceeding smoothly, when Mr. Grant repaired in person to Rome and was approved, nominated and promised his Bulls of consecration by the time of his return to Scotland.

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Grant fell ill, when on his way home, at Genoa. His ailment was partly ague, partly despondency of mind. His supply of money having failed, he wrote to Paris for more, but the letter in reply, containing the necessary remittance, never reached him. This unfortunate circumstance preyed on his mind ; and his imagination becoming diseased, he believed that his friends had deserted him, and that he was wholly unfit for the great responsibilities of the Episcopal office. The Bulls for his consecration reached Scotland. But in vain ; Mr. Grant never arrived there. He was never heard of more, although letters concerning him were frequently despatched to Rome and others written from Rome. It is conjectured that he may have retired into a monastery, but with greater probability, that he died, when unable to make himself known, in some public hospital.

In 1728- the last of the Dukes of Gordon, who was a Catholic, died prematurely. This was a severe blow to the numerous Catholics on his estates. His widow, the Duchess, although a Protestant, showed herself friendly to the clergy who laboured among her tenants. The great protector being no more, a plot was contrived for the destruction of the Bishop. He was accused of a design to carry off the youthful heir of the house of Gordon to

the continent, in order to have him educated in the Catholic religion. This plot prevailed so far as to cause the Bishop to be arrested and committed to prison. The Duchess knew perfectly well that there was no ground for suspecting the Bishop of such a purpose; and she was, accordingly, the most active among all concerned in obtaining his liberation. It would have been strange, indeed, if so prudent a prelate had entertained a scheme that would have renewed the persecution of Catholics and nullified the labours of half a century.

On occasion of the appointment of a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic for the Highlands, Bishop Gordon addressed a letter which has been preserved, "to all the churchmen and honourable Catholic gentlemen in the Highlands of Scotland." This letter is dated Edinburgh, October 29, 1741:

"The universal Pastor of the Catholic Church, considering maturely that my advanced years cannot allow me to serve you henceforth, as I have done for many years. and that it will prove much for your advantage, and that of all the Highland counties of Scotland to have a Bishop constantly to reside among you, has, in his great wisdom and tender love for you all, with the consent and at the desire of our Sovereign (meaning James VIII), ordered the most worthy bearer, the most Rev. Hugh MacDonald, to

be consecrated Bishop to serve among you as your chief pastor and Bishop. And His Holiness sending him, as Bishop, among you, appointed him also Vicar-Apostolic, with singular powers, to enable him to discharge this office with the greatest honour and authority, etc,

IA. EP. NICOP., Vic. Ap. in
Planis Scotiæ."

Bishop Gordon's jurisdiction was now, 1731, limited to the Lowlands, the Scotch Vicariate being divided, and Bishop Hugh MacDonald appointed first Vicar-Apostolic of the Highlands. This important change was effected by the Holy See through the solicitation and influence of Bishop Gordon. This venerable Prelate continued to preside over the Vicariate of the Lowlands till his death, which occurred the 1st of March, 1746, at Thornhill, near Drummond Castle, in the house of Mrs. Mary Drummond, a Catholic lady. He was buried at Innerpeffery, the burial place of the Dukes of Perth. His remains were not yet removed from Thornhill when a party of soldiers came to take possession of Drummond Castle.

CAP. XI.

BIRTH OF BISHOP WALLACE—SUMMONED BEFORE THE JUSTICIARY COURT OF PERTH—OUTLAWED—BISHOP WALLACE BY SPECIAL INDULT CONSECRATED BY BISHOP GORDON ALONE—A SECOND TIME OUTLAWED—REMAINS IN THE COUNTRY—BISHOP GORDON'S AFFECTION FOR THE HIGHLANDERS—DEATH OF BISHOP WALLACE, 1733.

Mr. Wallace was the son of the Provost of Arbroath, and is supposed to have been born about 1650. He was educated as a Protestant and licensed as an Episcopalian minister. It is probable that he became a Catholic some time before the Revolution. But the precise time is not known. He was tutor for some time to the Duke of Perth's children and travelled with them through France and Italy. When these duties were at an end he repaired to the Scotch College of Paris and lived there retired for a considerable time. When Bishop Gordon returned from Rome in 1706, he prevailed on Mr. Wallace to accompany him to Scotland and prepare for the labours of the mission. He was ordained priest in April, 1708, and stationed at Arbroath. In the following year he was summoned before the Justiciary

Court of Perth for "apostatizing to the Popish religion" and for "trafficking and perverting others."

He declined to appear and was outlawed.

In 1719, Bishop Gordon solicited from the Holy See and obtained the appointment of Mr. Wallace as his coadjutor. On 30th April, 1720, the Briefs were expedited by which he was created Bishop of Cyrrah. In the following October, he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon alone, assisted by two priests. This departure from the usual form of consecration was sanctioned by a special indult. It is also to be remarked that the elected bishop was of greater age than Bishop Gordon, having attained his sixty-sixth year. It was on account of his great merit that he was chosen, and also in order to put an end to the intrigues that were begun in favour of some other party. His new dignity was far from being a bed of roses. In 1722 he was arrested by order of the magistrates, whilst he was hearing confessions in the lodgings of the Duchess of Gordon at Edinburgh. The duchess was still in bed. But the constables of the City Guard who had charge to execute the warrant, insisted that she should rise and conduct them over the house. Eleven other Catholics were seized, and of these some were dismissed, others sent to prison. Suspecting the Bishop, from the gravity of his demeanor, to be a priest, they conducted him

to prison under a strong guard. It would have fared still worse with him if they had imagined that he was anything more. He was liberated on bail ; but, as on a former occasion, refused, to stand his trial, and was outlawed. He remained in the country, however, and frequenting only places where he was not much known, he managed to do good service. It would appear that later on he could use more freedom ; for, Bishop Gordon left to him the principal charge of the Lowlands, whilst he himself devoted his energies to the people of the Highlands, for whom he had conceived so great an affection.

The Bishop's friendship for his Highlanders was strongly expressed in a letter he wrote to the agent at Rome in the year 1711. It would appear that some people expressed surprise that he should have been able to stay in those mountainous districts with an amount of comfort which it was impossible for others to experience. "I never," was his reply, "had more comfort, every way, than among those people ; and am so far from wearying of them that I long to shut myself up forever with them. I do not question but I should do greater service there than anywhere else ; and if it were the will of Propaganda, I would confine myself so long as I live, among our hills and consecrate my days to serve the poor, people that live in them." It was less difficult

for Bishop Gordon to live in the Highlands, as his coadjutor, Bishop Wallace, had for some time been charged with the weight of duty in the Lowlands mission. The latter Prelate continued to be engaged in these labours till the close of his days. He died at Edinburgh on the 11th July, 1733.

CAP. XII.

BIRTH OF BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—BISHOP, 1731—
HOSTILE FEELING GREATLY DIMINISHED—CHANGE
FOR THE WORSE CAUSED BY THE ILL-TIMED EX-
PEDITION OF PRINCE CHARLES—THE BISHOP RE-
MONSTRATES AGAINST IT—NEVERTHELESS BLESSES
THE PRINCE'S STANDARD.

The Bishop whom we are now to notice was a son of Macdonald of Morar, and a lineal descendant of the ancient Lords of the Isles. It appears that he was sent at a very early age to study at the Seminary of Scalán. There also he completed his ecclesiastical studies and was ordained priest by Bishop Gordon in 1725. As has been shown, this Prelate had provided, through his influence with the See of Rome, for the appointment of a Bishop, Vicar-Apostolic, for the Highland district, now ecclesiastically separated from the Lowlands, and had obtained the nomination to this dignity of the Reverend Hugh Macdonald. By Briefs, accordingly, dated 12th February, 1731, Mr. Macdonald was created Bishop of Diana and Vicar-Apostolic of the Highland district of Scotland. In October of the same year, he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon,

who was assisted on the occasion by Bishop Wallace and one priest, the Holy See sanctioning some departure from the usual practice in consideration of the difficulties of the time and the necessities of the Scotch mission. One of the first acts of the new Bishop was, in concurrence with the other two Bishops, to define the limits of the two districts. A line of demarkation was accordingly drawn and submitted to the Congregation of Propaganda, which ratified by a solemn decree of 7th January, 1732, the decision of the Bishops.

Time had now considerably mitigated the hostile feeling against Catholics which had been so strongly excited by the abortive attempt of James III. and VIII. to recover the throne of his ancestors; and Bishop MacDonald continued zealously to exercise the duties of his episcopal office for the period of fourteen years, with comparatively little difficulty.

In 1745 a very untoward event came to disturb anew the relations of Catholics with the rest of the people, which had been growing easier from year to year. The heir male of the House of Stewart, Prince Charles Edward, a youth of five and twenty years, came to the west coast of Scotland in a French ship, disguised as a French abbe, and accompanied by seven of his leading adherents, but without a single soldier. He was strongly advised by chiefs

and gentlemen of the country to return to France and wait for a more favourable opportunity. Bishop MacDonald, who was a decided Jacobite, went to visit him on board his ship, and insisted on the same advice. The wise remonstrances of so many competent advisers were lost upon the daring Prince. He persisted in his determination, and what shows that he would have been a very unfit Regent, he treated with neglect the worthy Bishop who had so honestly advised him. This, however, did not cause the prelate to abandon his cause, nor even to refrain from taking an active part in forwarding it; for, when his standard was raised at Glenfinnan, it was blessed by Bishop MacDonald.

CAP. XIII.

EXPEDITION OF PRINCE CHARLES—ITS DISASTROUS RESULTS TO THE CATHOLICS—MERCIFULNESS OF THE SOLDIERS OF PRINCE CHARLES, ALMOST ALL CATHOLICS, CONTRASTED WITH THE UNSPEAKABLE CRUELTY OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND'S TROOPS—SAVAGE EXECUTIONS BY THE HANOVERIAN AUTHORITIES—PRINCE CHARLES CONCEALED FOR FIVE MONTHS AMONG THE HIGHLANDERS—WONDERFUL ESCAPE OF THE BISHOP AND HIS BROTHER OF MORAR—EXECUTION OF LORD LOVAT—VISIT OF BOISDALE TO PRINCE CHARLES—BETTER DISPOSITION OF THE MINISTERS OF THE KIRK WHO REFUSE TO OBEY THE CRUEL ORDERS OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND--DEATH OF BISHOP HUGH MC'DONALD, 1773.

Some account of the Jacobite rising of 1745 will not be out of place here, as it involves the history and the fate of the Catholics of the Highlands, and, indeed, of all Scotland. Contrary to the sound advice of Bishop Macdonald and other gentlemen of repute, all friendly to his cause, Prince Charles Edward landed from the French ship in which he had come, disguised as an abbe, and accompanied by

seven of his leading adherents. He immediately raised his standard at Glenfinnan, and in an incredibly short time was surrounded by a body of devoted followers. With this force, small enough for the conquest of an empire, he proceeded to the Lowlands, capturing towns and laying the country under contribution far and wide. It was not long till he reached Edinburgh, the Capital, and as he had numerous friends there, it became an easy conquest. He was keeping his court in this city, at the palace of his ancestors, and preparing for further and still more daring operations, when Sir John Cope, the commander of the Government forces in Scotland, advanced in order to check his progress. The armies met at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh. The result was a brilliant victory for Prince Charles, which gave eclat and prestige to his cause. Encouraged by this success, the Prince resolved to invade England. He succeeded in taking the important City of Carlisle, and thence proceeded without any serious interruption as far as Derby, within 127 miles of the British metropolis. He had evaded an army commanded by King George II.'s second son, the Duke of Cumberland. This army was two days' march behind that of Prince Charles, and never could have overtaken the active Highlanders. A council was held and the chiefs decided on return-

ing to Scotland. To this the Prince most reluctantly consented, for he considered, and rightly, that to retrace his steps was to give up the cause. So judged also the numerous friends who were hastening from Wales to join his standard. A strong force of French, under the command of the Chevalier's Brother, Henry, which was preparing for a descent on the south coast of England, was also discouraged from undertaking anything. When it was known in London that the insurgent army was so near the capital, there prevailed the greatest consternation among the anti-Jacobite population of that city. Many merchants and others who were hostile to the House of Stewart, removed their most valuable effects, as did also King George, who had his yachts in readiness and was prepared to embark on the approach of the hostile power. A leading member of the cabinet, the Duke of Newcastle, shut himself up a whole day, resolving to proclaim King James III. and VIII. All this very plainly shows that the anti-Jacobite portion of the city possessed no adequate means of defence. The Bank of England itself was in danger, and was only saved from a declaration of bankruptcy by the stratagems of its friends. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely possible to conceive the infatuation of the insurgent chiefs, who preferred slow but sure destruction to a fair chance of final

success. The Prince alone appeared to realize the situation. He was so depressed that he could hardly be dragged along at the rear of his brave army. His only chance would have been to appeal to the force at large, who were as deeply mortified as the Prince himself when they found that they were in retreat. Every advantage that had been gained was lost. There remained only the indomitable bravery of the Prince's little army. At Falkirk, in Scotland, they encountered a superior force under the command of General Hawley. They fought with their accustomed valour and won a signal victory. At Inverness they were not so fortunate. The Duke of Cumberland met them there at the head of a superior army, which was well provided with artillery and otherwise well appointed. The Highlanders, on the contrary, were worn out by hunger and fatigue. Under such circumstances it was in vain to attempt a night surprise of the enemy. The march over difficult ground in a pitch-dark night could not be accomplished in time. But the fatigue of such a desperate journey remained, and was a source of weakness in the ensuing battle. Now was the time, one would say, for retreating into the mountain fastnesses, which were so near at hand, and where the Highlanders could have renewed their strength and recruited their army. How much wiser would not this have been

than to meet, on Culloden Moor, ground unsuited to the Highlanders' mode of warfare, an army twice their number. Desiring that the English army should be the first to attack, they gave the enemy too good an opportunity of thinning their ranks by the deadly play of their artillery. They charged, at last, without waiting for command, and with their usual bravery and skill, although without their wonted success. It was not a time for denying time honoured rights and privileges. It had been the privilege of the powerful Clan McDonald, ever since the days of King Robert Bruce, to fight on the right wing of the army of Scotland. On the fatal day of Culloden they were placed on the left. They were unable to overcome the mortification caused by what they considered their disgrace, and when the battle was against their cause, they were too dispirited to make any effort in order to retrieve the day. What remained of Prince Charles' army retired in good order to the Highlands. The Prince himself was with difficulty led off the field.

The ill-advised expedition of Prince Charles Edward was attended with the most disastrous results to the Catholics, especially those of the Highlands. Such of their chiefs as were not killed in battle, or barbarously murdered, when wounded on the field of Culloden, suffered severely in their property, while

not a few perished by the hand of the executioner. Their castles and mansions were given to the flames, and they were obliged to wander from one place of concealment to another in their native land. The common people had no better fate. The fields from which they derived their subsistence were laid waste, their cottages destroyed, and they themselves reduced to poverty and in many cases to actual starvation. Under such circumstances the offices of religion could not be publicly performed, nor could the clergy fulfil in private the duties of their sacred calling. Their flocks, deprived of instruction, fell away in part, and before the end of the unhappy time became greatly diminished. The Right Reverend Bishop MacDonald fared no better than his more humble brethren. He persevered in the fulfilment of his duties until he was seized, and, what is not a little remarkable, tried not as having favoured the insurrection, but as a "Popish Priest," and sentenced to banishment; but not actually banished. He withdrew to a retired place called Shenval, near the Seminary of Scalán, in the mountainous region of the Cabrach; and from thence, as often as possible, especially in summer, visited his afflicted flock.

The army of Prince Charles Edward consisted almost entirely of Catholics, with some non juring conservatives of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

It is highly to the credit of these men that in the days of success they never practiced any cruelty against their fallen enemies. After their brilliant victories at Preston-pans and Falkirk they gathered up the wounded of Cope's and Hawley's armies and kindly tended them as if they had been members of their own force. This generous humanity was but ill repaid by the opposite party when they at length won a victory. Many brave Highlanders lay wounded and helpless on the bloody field of Culloden. The Hanoverian General, William, Duke of Cumberland, George II's son, ordered that all the wounded should be put to death, and they were despatched accordingly, the general overseeing the cruel massacre. Such of them as had found refuge in private dwellings were ruthlessly torn from those asylums where they were tenderly cared for, and barbarously murdered in the open fields. The house of that most benevolent gentleman and zealous supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty, Lord President Forbes, was not respected. Quite a number of wounded men were humanely received there and kindly treated. The hospitable mansion was savagely violated, the wounded soldiers dragged from under its protecting roof and shot down in groups. What a contrast does not such cruelty present with the unvarying humanity of the insurgent army!

The officers of Prince Charles' army who escaped being slain at Culloden, became, like himself, wanderers through the country, at every moment in danger of being taken. Many of them indeed were caught, and of these a considerable number were delivered to the executioner and murdered with all the circumstances of barbarian cruelty. With the exception of men of high title, who enjoyed the honour to have their heads hacked off, all other offenders, and they were numerous, who fell into the hands of the enemy, including chiefs and gentlemen of the highest rank, were subjected to the like treatment. Three minutes on the rope, and then, whilst still in life, the horrid butchery of disembowelling and beheading. (R. Chalmers.)

The inexpressible infamy with which these shocking butcheries disgraced the Hanover dynasty no time can ever efface, nor excellence of virtue ever atone for their blood guiltiness and that of their cowardly agents.

Prince Charles, after five months of privation, misery and concealment in the Islands and on the mainland of Scotland, at length got on board a French ship and was safely conveyed to France. It says much for his adherents of all classes, of whom the Catholics were the most numerous, who were with him in his ill-starred expedition, or only favouring him in private, that, although in the course of his wander-

ings, he was often in their power, as many as over a hundred being aware at times of the place of his concealment, and that there was a reward of £30,000 (thirty thousand pounds sterling) offered for his capture, not one of them ever thought of betraying him into the hands of his enemies.

Bishop MacDonald, who, as we have seen, was finally arrested as a priest, one day at the time when the pursuit of insurgents was the hottest, together with his brother, the Laird of Morar, and Lord Lovat, sought refuge in an island, which is in Loch Morar, and trusted to being secure, having drawn all the boats that were in the locality to the Island. This was of no avail. The soldiers in pursuit brought a boat from the neighbouring sea, and speedily reached the Island. Meanwhile the fugitives made for the mainland in one of their boats, when the two brothers, by their greater agility, effected their escape, whilst the aged Lovat fell into the hands of the pursuers and was conveyed to London in order to be another victim to the vengeance of the cowardly enemy. He had been reconciled to the Catholic Church by Bishop MacDonald when they were together in the Island of Loch Morar. On the scaffold he openly professed his faith, and spent some time before the axe fell, in acts of devotion.

The Bishop was more fortunate. He managed to avoid being captured by the soldiery till autumn of the same year, after leaving Loch Morar, when he found an opportunity of passing on board, one of the French ships which had come in search of the prince. On arriving in France he went to stay at the Scotch College of Paris, and would have gone to Rome, but, at the desire of Propaganda, remained in France in order to be nearer his people, and possibly able to give them some assistance; with a view also to be more ready to return home when it should become practicable. The French Court generously bestowed on him a pension of several hundred crowns. He returned home in August, 1749, and managed to exercise without any serious hindrance, the duties of his high office, until, as has already been stated, he was shamefully betrayed and arrested at Edinburgh in July, 1755, and tried as a "Popish Priest." Although the sentence of banishment which ensued was not put in force, the Bishop found it necessary to live very retired outside the limits of his Vicariate, sometimes at Shenval and sometimes with a friend at Auchintoul, when he was not engaged in ministering to his flock in the Highlands. He died at an advanced age, when on a visitation to his afflicted people in Glengarry, on the 12th of March, 1773.

In two years from the date of Culloden, an

amnesty was resolved on. Then appeared the true animus of the Hanover party. There could be no longer prosecutions for treason. To make amends the penal laws must be put in force, and hence it was that Bishop MacDonald was arrested as a "Popish Priest," and sentenced to perpetual exile. There can be no doubt as to the ill-feeling against Catholics which prevailed throughout the country. The peoples' fear of absolute monarchy was associated, groundlessly, indeed, but certainly, with an equally great fear of the Catholic religion. Of this state of feeling there are many proofs which it would be superfluous here to recount. There is one, however, of such an interesting character that we should regret to omit recording it. Mr. MacDonald, of Boisdale, who was friendly to Prince Charles, and gave him the wise advice to refrain from his expedition, together with Mr. Hugh MacDonald, of Balshair, who was also friendly, but who, like Boisdale, had not taken part in the ill-fated expedition, visited the Prince at a place called Colliedale, in the Island of South Uist. One evening a rather free conversation took place between the Prince and his kindly friends. "At last," says Boisdale, "I starts the question if His Highness would take it amiss if I should tell him the greatest objections against him in Great Britain. He said not. I told that 'Popery and arbitrary

government were the two chiefest.' He said "It was only bad constructions his enemies put on it." Boisdale then told him "that his predecessor, Donald Clan Ronald, had fought seven set battles for his; yet after the restoration, he was not owned by King Charles at Court." The Prince said: "Boisdale, don't be rubbing up old sores, for if I came home the case would be otherwise with me." I then says to him, "that notwithstanding of what freedom we enjoyed there with him, we could have no access to him if he was settled at London." And he told us then, "if he had never so much ado, he'd be one night merry with his Highland friends.' "

The Duke of Cumberland, in addition to his other hostile contrivances, endeavored to excite against the Catholic Jacobites their old enemies, the ministers of the Kirk. He required of the General Assembly to command all the established clergymen throughout the country to read a proclamation from their pulpits, in which the Duke ordered every minister and every loyal subject to exert themselves in discovering and seizing the rebels. The General Assembly complied. But, many individual clergymen, and this shows what a change had come over their minds, refused to read the proclamation, or left it to be read by their precen-tors. In consequence of this, the Duke sent another order to the Kirk, commanding every minister to

give in a list of the rebels belonging to his parish.

With this still fewer complied, the clergymen of Edinburgh setting an example of recusancy. The Duke then had recourse to individual applications and even personal entreaties. But to no purpose; and so he gave up troubling them.

CAP. XIV.

- PEACEFUL DISTRICTS SUBJECTED TO MILITARY LAW—
THE LORD PRESIDENT FORBES REMONSTRATES—
NO CONDEMNATION BY GEORGE II. OF HIS SON'S
BARBARITY—THE CARDINAL DUKE OF YORK
DEPRIVED OF HIS INCOME—HIS GENEROSITY TO THE
POPE—OBLIGED TO FLY FOR HIS LIFE—GEORGE III.
BESTOWS £4,000 YEARLY FOR THE CARDINAL'S
SUPPORT—THE CARDINAL BEQUEATHS TO THE
PRINCE OF WALES THE ORDER OF THE GARTER
WHICH HAD BELONGED TO HIS GREAT-GRAND-
FATHER, CHARLES I., TOGETHER WITH A RING
ANCIENTLY WORN BY THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND AT
THEIR CORONATION—MONUMENT BY PRINCE OF
WALES TO THE CHEVALIER ST. GEORGE AND HIS
TWO SONS, PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD AND HENRY,
CARDINAL YORK.

The Hanoverian Party were not satisfied with laying waste the lands of the active insurgents; they extended their ravages throughout peaceful districts even to the gates of the capital; so that Scotland might be said to have been treated, all over its length and breadth, as a conquered country, and subjected to military law.

The Lord President Forbes, who could not be suspected of any want of friendship to the Hanover cause, felt compelled to remonstrate against the outrageous measures of the Duke of Cumberland and the extravagant way in which he carried them out in defiance of all law at the very doors of the Courts of Justice. The worthy gentleman was only treated to the coarse and scornful reply : " The laws, my Lord ! By G—I'll make a brigade give laws." He afterwards alluded to the President as *that old woman who talked to him about humanity*. No form of trial was allowed to the insurgents ; nor did the soldiers ask for warrants from the justices when they set about plundering houses. This was indeed *brigade law*.

It does not appear to be on record anywhere that George II. ever remonstrated against the barbarous conduct of his hopeful son or that he used paternal authority in order to mitigate his cruelty.

In speaking of the Catholics of Scotland, it would be a serious omission not to mention, and with honour, a very illustrious personage who, though not born in Scotland, was by descent a Scotchman, a lineal descendant of Scotland's long line of warrior and statesman kings. This is no other than Henry Stewart, so long known as His Eminence Cardinal Duke of York. We do not say Royal Highness, nor, as a consequence, Henry IX of Great Britain,

for, all hope of a restoration of the House of Stewart had vanished, even before Henry Stewart was invested with the dignity of Cardinal. Mr. Robt. Chambers states that the Cardinal in middle life was not a favourite with the Jacobite party. This may have been by his having barred the way to his being head of the party by becoming a Cardinal. Probably, also, from his apparent indifference, when there was no longer any hope of the restoration of his family. In earlier life he was full of zeal in the cause and placed himself at the head of an army, provided by the King of France, and which was preparing to proceed to the assistance of Prince Charles, but was discouraged from making any attempt, on hearing that the latter had retreated from Derby. He became Bishop of Frescati, and possessed the revenues of two rich abbeys in France, Auchin and St. Amand. This, with a pension from Spain, and his income as Bishop and Cardinal, must have constituted a princely fortune. He was not, however, destined to enjoy it long. The French Revolution deprived him of the abbeys in France. The successes of Bonaparte in Italy and Spain caused his income as Cardinal and Bishop, together with his Spanish pension, to be lost. Notwithstanding these ruinous losses, he sacrificed his family jewels in order to enable the Pope to make up the sum exacted by the French

general. One of these was a ruby, the largest and the most perfect that was known, and which was valued at £50 sterling. Thus, greatly reduced in fortune, he resided quite retired at his villa near Rome, till the year 1798, when the revolutionary troops attacked and plundered his palace, and obliged him to fly for his life. He made his way to Padua and afterwards to Venice, subsisting by the sale of some silver plate. This was soon exhausted, and he became quite destitute. When such was the case, Cardinal Borgia, who had become acquainted with Sir John Hippesley Coxe in Italy, communicated to this gentleman the sad condition of Cardinal York. The same was imparted to Mr. Andrew Stewart, who drew up a memorial stating the whole case. Mr. Secretary Dundas laid this memorial before King George III, who immediately ordered the Earl of Minto, who was, at the time, ambassador at Vienna, to communicate to the Cardinal, in the most delicate manner possible, the King's resolution to offer him an allowance of £4,000 sterling yearly. Lord Minto, in consequence, addressed to His Eminence the following letter, dated Vienna, February 19th, 1800: "I have received the orders of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to remit to your Eminence the sum of £2,000; and to assure your Eminence that in accepting this

mark of the interest and esteem of His Majesty, you will give him sensible pleasure. I am, at the same time, ordered to acquaint your Eminence with his Majesty's intention to transmit a similar sum in the month of July, if the circumstances remain such that your Eminence continues disposed to accept it. . . . In executing the orders of the King, my Master, your Eminence will do me the justice to believe that I am deeply sensible of the honour of being the organ of the noble and touching sentiments with which His Majesty has condescended to charge me, and which have been inspired into him, on the one hand, by his own virtues, and on the other, by the eminent qualities of the august person in whom he wishes to repair, as far as possible, the disasters into which the universal scourge of our times has dragged, in a special manner, all who are most worthy of veneration and respect."

It has been remarked that the Cardinal and his brother Charles had a legal claim on the British Government for the arrears of the settlement made by Parliament on their grandmother, the Queen Consort of James II. It cannot be supposed, however, that this circumstance affected in the slightest degree the generous conduct of George III.

The Cardinal returned to Rome, and continued to enjoy the liberal pension till his death in June, 1807. He bequeathed to the Prince of Wales the Order of

the Garter which had belonged to his great-grandfather, Charles I., together with a still more precious relique, a ring which had been worn in ancient times by the Kings of Scotland at their coronation.

Cardinal York was far from ignoring these hereditary honours. Although he knew well that he never could be King, he, nevertheless asserted his claim on occasion of the death of his Brother Charles. He maintained it in a paper presented to the Pope, the foreign minister at Rome, and others. With this declaration he appears to have been perfectly satisfied, and struck a medal bearing the inscription: *Henricus IX. Angliæ Rex Dei gratia, sed non voluntate hominum.* (Henry IX., King of Great Britain, *by the grace of God, but not by the will of man.*")

Somewhat later, the Prince of Wales caused a monument to be erected in St. Peter's to the memory of the Chevalier St. George, the father, and his two sons, Prince Charles Edward, and Henry, Cardinal York.

CAP. XV.

JOHN M'DONALD, 2nd VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE HIGHLAND DISTRICT, 1761-79—NEPHEW TO BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD—STUDIED AT ROME—MISSIONARY IN LOCHABER AND UIST—CHOSEN COADJUTOR IN 1761—SUCCEEDED HIS UNCLE—DIED IN 1779.

ALEXANDER SMITH—1735-1766—STUDIED AT PARIS—PRIEST 1712—COADJUTOR 1735—PROVIDES FOR THE SPIRITUAL COMFORT OF PRISONERS AT CARLISLE, 1746-1747—MUCH RESPECTED—COMPOSED CATECHISMS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF HIS PEOPLE—MR. HAY ON OBEDIENCE TO SUPERIORS—POVERTY OF THE MISSION—INDULGENCE TIMES AGREED UPON—MR. HAY'S MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE USEFUL TO THE CHURCH—DEATH OF BISHOP SMITH, AGED 84, IN 1766.

Bishop John McDonald, Second Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District, 1761-1774, was a nephew, by his mother, of Bishop Hugh McDonald. He was born in Argyleshire in 1727 and studied at the Scotch College at Rome from 1743 till 1752, when he was ordained priest. He came to Scotland the following year, and at first laboured for some time as missionary apostolic in Lochaber. He was after-

wards appointed to the mission of South Uist. In January, 1761, he was chosen coadjutor to his uncle, Bishop Hugh McDonald, under the title of Bishop of Tiberiopolis and was consecrated at Preshome on the 27th September of the same year. He succeeded his venerable uncle as Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district, and died on the 9th of May, 1779, after a few days' illness.

Bishop Smith, a native of Fochabers, Scotland, went to prosecute his studies at the Scotch College of Paris in 1698. He returned from that seat of learning in 1709, and was afterwards ordained priest in 1712. He did duty as a missionary apostolic in Scotland till May, 1718. He was then appointed procurator of the college in which he had studied. In 1730 he returned to the mission in Scotland. In May, 1733, we find him once more at Paris. His stay there was not to be of long duration. Bishop Gordon, when Bishop Wallace died, petitioned the Holy See to appoint Mr. Smith his coadjutor. This was done accordingly; and briefs were promptly issued, 1735, nominating him to the said office by the title of Bishop of Misinopolis. The same year he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishops Gordon and McDonald.

Bishop Smith fulfilled the duties of the episcopal office with great edification, unmolested, and appar-

ently without any remarkable occurrence; when in 1746-47, it fell to his lot to perform the difficult and dangerous task of providing spiritual assistance to several victims of Culloden who were detained under sentence of death, at Carlisle, in England. These prisoners, MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart, MacDonell of Teindrich and Charles Gordon from Mill of Smithston, contrived to make application to Bishop Smith for spiritual aid. According to his desire, the Rev. George Duncan, who had been missionary apostolic in Angus, and had been also, for a short time, a prisoner, gladly undertook the perilous mission. He obtained admission to the prisoners, as one of their friends, and enjoyed the happiness of administering the sacraments, not only to the few above mentioned, but also to several English gentlemen who were likewise under sentence. They all had the consolation and benefit of the Holy Communion, the good priest having borne the Blessed Sacrament along with him. Mr. Duncan then made haste to leave the gaol; and it was not a moment too soon; for he had no sooner reached Scotland in safety than he learned that search was made for him a few hours after his departure, information against him having been given by the magistrates. Bishop Smith appears to have been honoured with the greatest reverence, as we learn from a letter of Mr. Hay, of which the

following words are an extract : " Believe me I have nothing more at heart than to discharge my duty to the best of my weak abilities ; and when I fall into any fault or mistake (as what other can be expected from my weakness), I assure you I will receive, as the greatest piece of charity that can be done me, to be advertised of it, particularly by you, whom I am bound to regard as in the place of God himself, and whose reprehensions I shall always esteem as the surest sign of your affection for me."

Bishop Smith was full of zeal for the instruction of his flock. About the time just referred to, he had completed the preparation of a work which he had, for a long time, in contemplation. This was nothing less than a good catechism, the want of which had been long felt by the Catholics of Scotland. The work was twofold. It consisted of a shorter, or more elementary catechism, and a longer one for the use of children that were more advanced. The manuscript, when complete, was sent to Rome in order to be examined, and, if necessary, to be corrected, so that it should be published with authority for the instruction of the people. Abbate Grant, as earnestly requested by the Bishop, interested himself in the matter : and the Irish Dominicans at the Minerva were deputed to examine both catechisms. When their task was completed, they assured Cardinal

Spinelli that the works were thoroughly orthodox, and adapted, as they judged, to be highly serviceable in Scotland. It might have been expected that such a decision would have rendered all opposition impossible. It was not so, however, and such opposition arose as induced the Cardinal to defer the publication of the little books. On hearing of the Cardinal's decision, Bishop Smith urgently represented that delay would be a great hardship and would seriously injure the cause of religion in Scotland. The Cardinal was prevailed on to reconsider his judgment, and caused the catechisms to be translated into Latin in order that he might examine them himself. As he enjoyed a great reputation as a theologian, his opinion, confirming that of the Dominicans, was accepted by the Holy Office. This Tribunal, at the suggestion of the Cardinal, published a formal approbation of the catechisms, dated March 20th, 1750, a proceeding which it rarely has recourse to. Thus was Bishop Smith amply rewarded after a delay of seven years. He now hastened the printing of the catechisms and circulated them widely throughout his Vicariate.

About this time there passed many letters between Preshome and Edinburgh; and among the rest, a rather remarkable one in which obedience to the authority of superiors is strongly incalculated, Mr.

Hay, the writer, stating that he made it a rule for himself, in everything in which the authority of superiors is concerned, that their will should be his law, whether they condescended to make known their reasons to him or not, or, in whatever light their reasons might appear to him." It is illustrative of the poverty of the missions at the time, that, even at the head mission of Preshome, they could not afford a Ciborium for reserving the Blessed Sacrament, or a Pyx wherein to carry it to the sick. The church had been thoroughly robbed of everything. In the letter just referred to, Mr. Hay informs the Bishop that they had not yet had the happiness of retaining the Blessed Sacrament at Preshome for want of a Pix, (Ciborium) and begs the Bishop, if at all possible, to favour him with one.

As Preshome was the chief seat of the missions, the centre of a Catholic population and conveniently situated both as regards Highlands and Lowlands, it continued to be long the place where the Bishops met for consultation. At the time of which we are treating, Bishop Smith attended a meeting of Bishops there, and published an important pastoral letter regarding plenary indulgences that had just been granted by the Holy See to the Catholics of Scotland. These indulgences were to be annual and the times for them at the discretion of the Vicars Apostolic.

Mr. Hay made some suggestions to Bishop Smith in regard to them; and it was regulated in the pastoral letter referred to that there should be seven periods of indulgences in the course of the year—Christmas, the first week of Lent, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints and St. Andrew's day, the term for gaining the indulgences continuing throughout the octaves of those festivals. It was made obligatory on the priests of each mission to announce duly, beforehand, the times of the indulgences, lest any who should wish to avail themselves of them, should lose the opportunity of so great a grace. The conditions for gaining these indulgences, the clergy could learn from the appendix to Bishop Challoner's edition of the Roman Ritual. Prayer for the Church was one of the conditions; and with these were to be distinctly included prayers for the necessities of the missionary priests, as well as for each congregation in particular. All missionary pastors were required by the same pastoral letter, to be careful to impart the Plenary Indulgence to the faithful *in articulo mortis* (at the hour of death), according to the form prescribed by Pope Benedict XIV., and printed in the ritual above alluded to. The necessity of causing to be baptized infants, in cases where animation was doubtful and labour difficult, was also earnestly insisted on in the same

pastoral letter. It required that matrons and nurses should be carefully instructed in their duty regarding such cases lest unfortunate infants should lose "the blessing of baptism and eternal life." No proof of death, short of decomposition, was to be accepted;—a wonderful agreement with the latest decisions of medical science. The conclusion of the letter shows how well the medical knowledge of Mr. Hay had served in its preparation. We read the following words:—"As it often happens in drowned persons and other dying people, especially in instant and sudden deaths, that they appear to be dead before they really are so, it is also earnestly recommended that nothing be done with the bodies of such persons which might finish the small remains of life, far less to bury them hastily; and that pastors be not over scrupulous in proceeding with extreme unction, once begun, upon persons in their last moments; because it is frequently observed that after they have seemed to have breathed out their last, they fetch several gasps at large intervals, by which the last remains of life appear.

(Signed)

"ALEX EP. MISINOP: V. A. in Scotia.
Preshome, August 1st, 1762."

From the time of Bishop Gordon's death in 1746, Bishop Smith was Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district, and continued so till his death, which occurred at Edinburgh on the 21st August, 1766, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

CAP. XVI.

JAMES GRANT, 1766-1778—WAS BORN AT WESTER BOGGS IN THE ENZIE--STUDIED AT ROME--ORDAINED THERE IN 1734—CONFOUNDS JANSENISM--RETURNS TO SCOTLAND IN 1735—IN LOCHABER AND BARRA—SACRIFICES HIMSELF FOR HIS PEOPLE—HIS CRUEL IMPRISONMENT—LIBERATED IN 1747—HIS HEALTH IMPAIRED—RESTS AT SHENVAL—IN RATHVEN—COADJUTOR IN 1755—IN 1766 VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE LOWLAND DISTRICT—DIED AT ABERDEEN, 1778—GEORGE HAY—HIS BIRTH AT EDINBURGH, 1729—STUDIED MEDICINE—WITH PRINCE CHARLES—A PRISONER—IN 1747 RETURNED TO EDINBURGH—BECOMES A CATHOLIC IN 1748—MAKES THE ACQUAINTANCE OF BISHOP CHALLONER—DECIDES FOR THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE—STUDIES AT ROME—REV. JS. STOTHERT ON THE HOLY CITY.

The place of Bishop Grant's birth was Wester Boggs, in the Catholic District of the Enzie, Brannishire. He studied at the Scotch College of Rome from 1726 till 1734, when he was ordained priest. Before returning to Scotland he prolonged his studies for another year, by the advice of his

Superiors of the Scotch College, at a seminary known as Notre Dame des Vertus. This house, it appears, although Mr. Grant and his friends knew it not, was infected with a strong taint of Jansenism. This became apparent on occasion of an excursion of Mr. Grant and his fellow students. There was in a room where they happened to dine a portrait of Quesnel, a notorious Jansenist. Represented on his head was a crown consisting of a number of small circles, on which were the names of his works. Not satisfied with this, the artist added underneath the following inscription :

Hic ille est quem plena Deo tot scripta coronant,
Magnanimus veri vindex, morumque Magister,
In quem sæva suos dum vertit Roma furores
Labi visa fides et totus palluit orbis.

Mr. Grant's companions loudly praised both portrait and inscription. With the utmost *sang-froid* the former observed that it would be no difficult task for him to compose a few lines more suited to the subject of the portrait. They dared him to try, when he wrote the following words :

Hic est plena malo qui demone scripta recudit,
Agni in pelle lupus, Regi qui Deoque rebellis,
In quem sacra vigil dum fulmina Roma vibravit
Vincit prisca Fides totusque amplexitur Orbis.

Needless to say, there was commotion in the Quesnel Jansenist House. Mr. Grant resolved to leave it and found a more congenial residence in the

seminary of *St. Nicolas du Chardonnet*, where he spent some time both profitably and happily.

In the year 1735 Mr. Grant returned to Scotland, and after spending a short time with his friends in the Enzie, was appointed to the Mission of Braes of Lochaber, as assistant to Rev. John McDonald. He was afterwards stationed in the Catholic Island of Barra. As showing how bitterly the Catholic clergy were persecuted after Culloden, it must be related that some ships of war had come to the coast in 1746; men were landed from them on Barra in search of victims. The chief object of their search, it appears, was the priest, and they threatened to lay waste the whole island if he were not given up to them. Mr. Grant, on hearing of those threats in a safe retreat to which he had retired in a small island, rather than see his parishioners reduced to misery, gave himself up to the enemy and was carried a prisoner to Mingarry Castle on the western coast. He was there detained for some weeks and then conveyed to Inverness, where he was thrown into the common prison, with forty prisoners together with him in the same room. This was not all. He was chained by the leg to Mr. McMahon, an Irish officer in the service of Spain, who had come to Scotland in order to be of service to Prince Charles. So chained, they could not, in

the night time, change from one side to the other, except by the one passing over the other. The people of Inverness humanely provided them with some conveniencies. Among other things, they gave to each a bottle, and this they hung out at the window in the morning, when it was filled by kindly persons with fresh water. One day the sentinels falsely informed the visiting officer that the prisoners had conspired to knock them on the head with bottles which they had ready for the purpose. In vain did Mr. Grant and others plead that the accusation was as groundless as it was improbable and ridiculous. They were not heard, but deprived of the bottles. Mr. Grant was afterwards heard to own that he felt more keenly this privation than any other cruelty that was inflicted on him. His brother, John Grant, of Wester Boggs, at length came to know where he was, visited him, furnished him with money, and made such powerful interest with gentlemen of their Clan as to obtain his liberation in May 1747. The condition was required that he should come under bail to present himself when called upon. To the influences on his side it must be ascribed that he was never so called upon. The minister and other Protestants of Barra gave testimony as to his peaceable and inoffensive demeanour during the insurrection. The cruelties inflicted, during his incarceration,

had seriously impaired his health. On being liberated, he returned to his brother's house in the Enzie in order to renew his broken health. In 1748, he repaired to Shenval in consequence of a recommendation that he should drink goat milk whey. Following this simple regimen, and, at the same time indulging in perfect rest from missionary labour, he recovered his strength and was able to resume clerical duty. The charge of the Catholics resident in the parish of Rathven was assigned to him in the autumn of 1748, on the removal of the Rev. John Gordon to the mission of Buchan. Bishop Smith now stood in need of a coadjutor; and having applied in the proper quarter, Mr. Grant was selected for the important office by the Congregation of Propaganda. Briefs nominating him Bishop of Sinita were forwarded on the 21st February, 1755. He was averse to this promotion; and his friends had great difficulty in persuading him to accept the dignity. The mere idea of it caused an illness which his constitution, already so severely tried, was scarcely able to bear up against. In consequence of this illness, his consecration was delayed till the 13th November. At that date, his health being renewed, he was consecrated by Bishop Smith at Edinburgh. On the death of Bishop Smith in 1766, he became Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowland district.

He died at Aberdeen on the 3rd December, 1778.

GEORGE HAY.—This celebrated prelate, whom his parents educated in their own religious and political persuasions as a non-juring Episcopalian, and who was destined afterwards to become so eminent as a Catholic, was born at Edinburgh on August 24th, 1729. He was of highly respectable parentage, the male line of the Hays, Marquises of Tweeddale, having become extinct in his person. His first studies were at Edinburgh, liberal, but not academical, his name not appearing in the books of the University. In the sixteenth year of his age he began the study of medicine, becoming apprentice to Mr. George Lauder, a surgeon at Edinburgh. In this early stage of his career he contracted friendships that were destined to be of long duration. He became intimate with Alexander Wood, Dr. John Gregory, Livingstone of Aberdeen, Dougal of Reith, and Strachan of Banff. The first of these celebrated men, so long known as "Sandy Wood," continued his friendship till the day of his death in 1807.

The medical school of Edinburgh, at the time of Mr. Hay's studies there, was at the height of its reputation. It was otherwise with the morals of the youth of that city, of which historians give a most unfavourable account. Mr. Hay, being a Jacobite, had no scruple in going to serve as a surgeon, to-

gether with his teacher, Mr. Lauder, in the army of Prince Charles. It cost him dear. In the course of the Prince's retrograde march to Inverness, Mr. Hay was obliged, the hardships of campaigning having impaired his health, to return to Edinburgh. When there, he was advised by his friends to present himself to the representatives of the established government in the hope that, as he had been equally attentive to the wounded and sick of both parties, and serving only professionally, he would be put to no further trouble. They were greatly mistaken. The unfortunate practitioner was detained for three months in the Castle of Edinburgh, and then sent to London, along with others, in charge of a messenger-at-arms. He was held a year in prison, but not rigorously treated. Friends were allowed to visit him and his fellow-prisoners. On occasion of one of these visits, Mr. Hay heard, for the first time, and not without surprise, some remarks in support of the Catholic religion, which happened to be made in a casual conversation between Mr. Meighan, the distinguished Catholic publisher, and one of his friends. The impression on the mind of Mr. Hay was ephemeral although, at the time, distinct and vivid. It was not, however, forgotten; he often alluded to it in after life.

Immediately after the amnesty of 1747, Mr. Hay being set at liberty, returned to Edinburgh. There

being question there of calling him as a witness against some of his associates in the Jacobite campaign, he retired to Kirktown House, in the West of Scotland, the seat of Sir Walter Montgomery, who was his relative. There he amused himself as best he could, with field sports, and when tired of them he had recourse to the library. There he happened one day to fall upon a copy of Gother's "Papist Misrepresented and Represented." He read it eagerly, and new ideas arose in his mind. Except the few words that fell from Mr. Meighan, he had never heard anything in favour of the Catholic religion. The sect in which he was educated was a particularly strict one. He, nevertheless, looked with indulgence on all other persuasions, except one. That one was the Catholic Faith. In the midst of all his doubts and perplexity he began to think that it might possibly possess the truth. He betook himself to prayer, and with an earnestness which showed itself by tears, he besought the Father of Lights to enlighten his mind and give him the knowledge of truth. He must have further information; and this could best be obtained from a living Catholic, especially a Catholic priest. As soon as he could prudently leave his retreat at Kirktown of Kilbride, he returned to Edinburgh in order to continue his enquiries; but, meanwhile, did not refrain from more

commonplace occupations. As he was attending the fencing school of one Mr. John Gordon, of Braes, this worthy man completely won his confidence. Hence he expressed to him his great desire to become acquainted with a Catholic. This delighted the good man, who exclaimed with warmth: "Thank God, I am one myself." An introduction to a priest of the Society of Jesus soon followed. This was no other than the Rev. Father Seton of Garleton, at the time resident in Edinburgh. Mr. Hay, under his care, enjoyed a regular course of instruction and preparation. He was, in due time, received by this excellent priest into the Catholic Church on the festival of Saint Thomas the Apostle.—21st December, 1748.

Now nineteen years of age, Mr. Hay still adhered to his original design of prosecuting his medical studies. For this purpose he attended the able lectures of Dr. John Rutherford, with whom he became intimate. About a quarter of a century later, this learned doctor requested his former pupil, then a bishop, to recommend his son, who was setting out on his travels, to the acquaintance and good services of Abbate Grant, the agent of the Scotch mission at Rome.

It may be mentioned as showing Mr. Hay's proficiency in his studies, that in October, 1749, he was

lected a member of the Royal Medical Society, and in December of the same year, an "honorary member by succession." His professional studies, however, were not yet completed; and the facilities afforded by the society were of great benefit to him.

It must now be observed that his change of religion was a serious hindrance to him in a worldly point of view. The iniquitous penal laws stood in his way.

He could not graduate at the university, nor could he obtain his diploma at the Royal College of Surgeons, this corporation being restricted by the said laws from admitting Catholics among its members. When his studies were finished accordingly, he could do nothing better than open a chemist shop at Edinburgh. He continued for a year in this business.

He was so seriously grieved by the cruel laws which denied him the free practice of his religion, that he conceived the idea of engaging in some foreign service, at the cost of abandoning his native country for the sake of the liberty which he could not enjoy there. It was not long till there occurred an opportunity of carrying out his view. A Swedish vessel that had been stranded on one of the Orkney Islands, was purchased by a company of Leith merchants and prepared by them for the Mediterranean trade. Mr. Hay arranged with the owners to accompany this ship in the capacity of surgeon. While in London,

preparing for his departure, he was introduced to the illustrious Dr. Richard Challoner, who was then at the height of his reputation, both as a Bishop and as an Apologist of the Catholic religion. This great prelate was no less distinguished for his learning than by his amiability of character and the eminent sanctity of his life. He became deeply interested in the young man who was now introduced to his acquaintance, and took pains to ascertain the true bent of his mind. Taking everything into consideration, he was soon persuaded that Divine Providence had marked the vocation of his new friend, designing him specially for the more exalted offices of the ecclesiastical state. It required no great effort of his influence to bring over Mr. Hay to the same conviction. It would seem as if the words of the Bishop had revealed to him the secret workings of his own mind, and he offered no opposition to the proposal of Bishop Challoner. The latter, accordingly, wrote to Bishop Smith at Edinburgh, informing him of Mr. Hay's dispositions, and asking him to secure a place for him in the Scotch College at Rome. Thus was it due, under God, to Bishop Challoner's penetration and the interest he took in the young student, that the Church and Mission of Scotland, in after years, received such great benefit from the services of Bishop Hay.

With his mind now at rest regarding his vocation and future life, Mr. Hay, in order to fulfil his engagement, passed on board the ship above mentioned, which was bound for Marseilles. The vessel touched at Cadiz, and while it lay in the harbour there Mr. Hay went on shore every morning to hear Mass. Becoming acquainted at Cadiz with a very pious Augustinian Friar, who was an Irishman, he acquired from his conversation a liking for the religious life, and even thought of renouncing the world and seeking the salvation of his soul in the seclusion of the cloister. It was otherwise ordained. A letter from Bishop Smith had been sent after him, informing him of a place being provided for him in the Scotch College at Rome. This letter was forwarded by way of Paris and passed through the hands of the Rev. Geo. Innes, Principal of the Scotch College, there. This dignitary expressed a high opinion of Mr. Hay, and regretted that he was not destined for his house rather than that of the "old town." Mr. Innes says, in his letter to Mr. John Gordon, Procurator for the Scotch mission in London: "By the account you give of him (Mr. Hay), it appears he is truly a hopeful subject, and I am sorry he did not pass this way. What Bishop Smith writes to Mr. Grant about him has determined the matter for his going forward to the old town (Rome), and I shall

do all I can, that he may meet there with everything to his mind; although I can't say but I had much rather have got him to this House."

The Abbate Grant, on the part of Cardinal Riviera, Prefect of Propaganda, wrote to inform Bishop Smith that there were two vacancies in the Scotch College, one of which should be filled by Mr. Hay. His engagement with the Leith merchants was at an end, when their ship arrived at Marseilles. He was now free to proceed to Rome. Accordingly, we learn from a letter of Principal Innes to Abbate Grant, that he journeyed by way of Leghorn. "In all appearance," writes the Principal, "Mr. G. Hay will reach you before you get this line. I have, with yours, a letter from him from Marseilles, as he was just ready to depart for Leghorn. I wish you had many subjects like him for company's (mission's) service. Pray my best wishes to him, and prosperity to the end of his pious undertaking, I'm persuaded he'll profit much by Dr. Stonor."—Sept. 5th, 1751.

Another letter still further shows how great an interest Principal Innes took in the young student. Writing from Paris to his friend, Dr. Stonor, agent at Rome for the English clergy, he says under date Nov. 17th, 1751: "I'd fain know your opinion of our last student, Mr. Hay, sent by Bishop Smith with great eulogy of him, to our College in Rome;

and, above all, I could heartily wish you would be helpful to him, without giving umbrage to the Reverend Father. By what I can understand, he is a lad very sincere, of good sense, and of more knowledge and experience than most we send thither. The only favour I beg of you is, that when you can prudently be of any use to Mr. Hay, or any other of our students with you, in that case you'll bestow on them your helping hand."

Mr. Hay was received into the Scotch College of Rome on September 10th, 1751.

The Reverend James Stothert gives a glowing description of the famous city ever ancient and ever new.

Rome at the time (1751) Mr. Hay went to study there.

"The City of Rome never enjoyed greater prosperity than about the time when Mr. Hay entered it as a student under Benedict XIV, a Pontiff justly regarded as one of the wisest and most learned among the Popes. The state and circumstance which distinguished the manners of the old European courts before the first revolution in France had not passed away. Rome was at that time, as it had often been before, the asylum of the unfortunate and the exile. The Prince who, in other circumstances, might have sat on the throne of Great Britain, was living in the

Palazzo Savorelli, with his pious wife, Maria Clementina, daughter of Prince Sobieski of Poland. Their younger son, Henry, had been lately, 1747, created a Cardinal. The visitor from a distant country, as he walked in the streets of Rome, might have met Alphonsus Liguori, then a priest, come up from the kingdom of Naples on the business of his new Congregation of the Holy Redeemer, or on the subject of his great work on moral theology, then in progress. Assemani might have been found at the Vatican Library. Paul of the Cross was erecting monasteries for the first Passionists of the Pontifical states. In the Roman schools, Lagomarsini filled the chair of Greek. The illustrious Boscovich was anticipating the discoveries of modern science, and building up his ingenious theory of the constitution of matter, in the chair of Philosophy. The Scotch College was, at that time, of more than usual efficiency. The office of Rector was filled by F. Lorenzo Alticozzi, S. J., one of the best superiors the College ever had. He was a man of strict honour and integrity, and, to great activity, knowledge and experience in the business of life, he united an extraordinary zeal for the salvation of souls."

CAP. XVII.

MR. HAY'S FELLOW STUDENTS—IN 1758 ORDAINED PRIEST ALONG WITH MR. GUTHRIE—RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS RENEWED—AT THE REQUEST OF THE POPE, THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN POWERS USED WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FAVOUR OF CATHOLICS—ORDERS FROM THE PREMIER AGAINST PERSECUTION—COMPARATIVE CALM—REV. J. S. GRANT, COADJUTOR—GRANT OF 200 CROWNS TO THE MISSION THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF CARDINAL YORK AND THE EX-KING, HIS FATHER—ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND OF MORE PRIESTS—PAPAL BENEDICTION—MR. HAY GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF HIS JOURNEY—IN CHARGE OF RATHVEN—RESIDES AT PRESHOME—REV. MR. GEDDES' MISSIONS—THE CATHOLIC ENZIE.

Rector Alticozzi, so deservedly praised, was devoted to the cause of the Scotch Missions, and by his judicious management of the affairs of the college raised that institution to a state of great prosperity. He was rewarded by the esteem and affection of the students, and this circumstance induced the Father General of his society to say that "the esteem and affection of the Scotch boys for Alticozzi was an

honour to the Society." It was under such a master that Mr. Hay auspiciously commenced his ecclesiastical studies. It is not a little remarkable that at the time in question there were in the college, which counted only nine students, three future Bishops and a Cardinal. These were John MacDonald, nephew to Bishop Hugh McDonald of the Highland District, and afterwards his coadjutor and successor; Mr. John Geddes, coadjutor to Bishop Hay; and Mr. Hay himself, together with Mr. Charles Erskine, of the noble House of Kelly, who became eminent at the Court of Rome and rose to the dignity of Cardinal.

Considering what has been said regarding the efficiency of the Scotch College at Rome, it may appear superfluous to state that a student of Mr. Hay's ability was eminently successful in his studies. Having completed his course in 1758, he was ordained priest along with Mr. Guthrie, on the 2nd of April of that year, by Cardinal Spinelli, the Protector of the Scotch College.

The time was now at hand when it behoved the newly-ordained priests to return to their native country. Bishop Smith and their other friends were much concerned regarding their safety. In travelling they were exposed to a twofold danger. Great Britain being at war with France, both in Europe

and Canadian America, their voyage by sea exposed the Scotch travellers to being captured as British subjects, whilst, on the other hand, a greater peril arose from the chance of being seized by their own Government as Catholic priests. This would have led to imprisonment and probably banishment from the kingdom.

Anticipating his career in the missions, Mr. Hay generously devoted his medical knowledge to the cause of religion, taking a vow, March 27th, 1759, never to accept remuneration for medical assistance, however much it might fall in his way to afford it. It would have been more in accordance with the ideas of the present age, if he had resolved never to give medical aid at all, except in very urgent cases.

Mr. Hay and his companions could have little imagined the state of matters which awaited them in Scotland. In consequence of the amnesty of 1747, there could be no more prosecutions on account of Jacobitism. But the rancorous feeling against Jacobites and Catholics still prevailed. It appears to have increased in intensity about the year 1751.

The ministers of the Kirk did their bitter best to rouse it up anew, and they succeeded but too well. Government, remembering its defeats and the Jacobite march to Derby, seconded their revengeful views, renewing its orders for the apprehension of Catholic

priests and the suppression of Catholic meetings. Soldiers were stationed in the districts where Catholics were the most numerous; and the search for priests was so vigorously resumed that none of them ventured to appear in public. Mr. Robert Maitland and Mr. Patrick Gordon were tried for being "habit and repute Jesuit priests, or trafficking Papists." They were found guilty, and sentenced to perpetual banishment, under pain of death if they returned, remaining "Papists." Bishop Hugh McDonald had returned from exile, to which he had been sentenced as a "Papist priest;" but such was the rigour of the search for such offenders, that he could scarcely appear in his own vicariate of the Highlands, where he was so well known, and lived very retired in the mountainous region of the Cabrach. At this new outbreak of persecution, Bishop Smith, who was engaged in providing copies of the Scriptures for his people, was a special mark for the cruel enemy. He eluded the search of his persecutors for some time, and then retired into England, in the hope that a better day would dawn for his afflicted country. According to the Abbate Grant of Rome, matters were as bad as immediately after the battle of Culloden. This worthy priest made a representation to some cardinals, his friends, showing the injustice and cruelty that were practiced. Through these cardinals the Holy

Father was moved to address the Catholic powers, requesting them to use their influence at the British Court in favour of the Catholics of Scotland. The Imperial, Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors were not slow to act. They even made a second application to the British Premier, who positively assured them that orders had been sent down to Scotland to stop all further prosecution on account of religion. Mr. Pelham had spoken to the same effect ; and the Secretary of War was to answer for the better conduct of the soldiers. Bishop Challoner, at a formal visit, expressed thanks on the part of the Catholics, to the ambassadors of the Catholic powers. There was now a cessation of the more active persecution ; and Bishop Smith, availing himself of the comparative calm, returned to his vicariate, and once more gave the comfort and encouragement of his presence to his afflicted clergy. This was most needed, in regard to the people as well as the clergy in the northern part of the district, where the Catholics, being the more numerous, the persecution raged with the greater fury.

Although the promises made by the British government, in compliance with the desire of the Catholic foreign powers, were but imperfectly fulfilled, the penal laws, nevertheless, were so far mitigated as to admit of the missionary priests emerging cautiously

from their retirement, and beginning to perform the offices of their sacred calling among the Catholic people.

At this time the Scotch Bishops sent their annual report to Rome, and failed not to represent therein the poverty and suffering of the clergy, praying Propaganda, at the same time, to appoint a coadjutor to Bishop Smith, now in his seventieth year. Their words were not lost on the most worthy Cardinal Spinelli, who had now succeeded as Cardinal Protector of Scotland. Through his endeavours and influence, all difficulties were finally overcome, and the office of coadjutor conferred on the Rev. James Grant, at the time Missionary Apostolic in his native parish of Rathven, County of Banff. Cardinal York also gave the aid and encouragement of his great influence. He and the ex-King, his father, obtained from Propaganda a grant of 200 crowns towards the relief of the great poverty of the missionary clergy.

The British Government had only mitigated; it was far from having done away with the persecution of the Catholics of Scotland. Bishop Challoner expresses regret that so little had been obtained in their behalf: "We are sorry our little endeavours to procure the peace and tranquility of your poor afflicted Church, have not met with all the success we could have wished for." (Letter to Bishops McDonald and Smith.)

Rev. Father John Seton admits a respite from persecution : "We have, ere now, stood the brunt of their persecutions, and have got a respite, *Modicum et indebitis me* ; a courageous patience can do a greater deal ; and God will send relief, I hope in due time, if we apply to him with fervent prayer." (Father J. Seton to Bishop Smith.) There was a great dearth of clergy ; so much so, that Bishop Grant was obliged to discharge the ordinary duties of missionary priest. These labours absorbed his time and rendered it impossible for him to assist Bishop Smith in those functions which belonged more immediately to the Episcopal office. It is no matter of surprise that, under such circumstances, the arrival of new labourers for the vineyard was looked forward to with joyful anticipation.

Easter Sunday, 1759, was the last Sunday the three newly-ordained priests spent together at Rome. Clement XIII., recently raised to the chair of Peter, gave the grand Papal Easter benediction for the first time. This is a majestic spectacle, unequalled even by any other Pontifical ceremony. It was our students' farewell to Rome after their prolonged sojourn, and Rome's farewell to them. On Friday of the same week, 20th April, they took leave of the Scotch College, where they enjoyed a high reputation for all the virtues proper to their state. The Abbate Grant,

writing to Bishop Smith, advising him of their departure, says: "For these many years, three better disposed and more accomplished young men have not gone from this place." By July 3rd, they reached Paris and met with an exceedingly kind reception on the part of the superiors and students of the college there. They remained seventeen days for refreshment and in order to provide themselves with new clothes, having travelled hitherto in their college dress. The time, as may well be conceived was agreeably spent. Mr. Riddoch, the agent for Scotland, took them to see the Abbey of St. Denys. They were shown there the tombs of the French Kings and other objects of interest that were in the Church. They were shown over the monastery, and beheld in its treasury the royal crown, sword and sceptre. A greater sight than all was the body of St. Louis, contained in a silver coffin. There were also many reliquaries of gold. The Principal, Mr. Gordon, engaged a "Bramas man," Mr. Mackay, who was an officer in the Scotch body guard, to show them the wonders of Versailles. Arriving there, together with this gentleman and the principal himself, they were conducted to the royal stables, where 6,000 horses were kept, the royal apartments of Trianon and the Menagerie. They also saw the Queen going to Mass, and viewed the apart-

ments of the King and Queen. They had the honour to stand near the Duke of Berry, afterwards Louis XVI., and the Count of Provence, two beautiful boys, while they dined. After dinner they were afforded an opportunity of seeing the great waterworks, as they were, on that day, exhibited to the States of Arras. They were allowed to remain a considerable time near the dauphins and the princesses, Madame Adelaide and Madame Louisa, while they were fishing in a pond. They spent the night at Versailles, and next day went to Marly, a royal residence, in order to see the machinery used in raising the water to Versailles.

Three days more and they left Paris, directing their course towards Douai. They met with a cordial welcome there, the rector of the college, Father Riddoch, the prefect of studies, Father John Farquarson, and the students, who, at the time were thirteen in number, vying with one another in showing them kindness. They speak of Mr. Farquarson as "one of the most sincere, honest affectionate, homely men" they had ever seen. They remained only four days at Douai, and then proceeded by way of Lille, Ghent and Antwerp to Rotterdam. As they were now approaching their native land, danger must be faced. In England a French invasion was dreaded, and hence orders were issued for a strict examination of every stranger on

his landing in Great Britain. The consequence of their detection would, in all probability, have been imprisonment, perhaps banishment from their own country. Their only chance of safety, as Bishop Smith suggested, lay in their being run ashore, like contraband goods, in a boat, during the night, at some lonely place.

Our travellers sailed for Leith in a Dutch vessel on the 9th of August. By the 15th they gained the Frith of Forth. A contrary wind obliged them to anchor at Buckhaven, a small fishing village on the coast of Fife. Thus, what appeared to be accident, afforded them an opportunity of landing which no ingenuity could otherwise have provided. The people of Buckhaven took them for merchants who had smuggled goods on board, and they were treated with great civility, every one hoping to make a good bargain. They walked along the shore to Wemyss, and there took horses to Kinghorn, whence they were conveyed by the regular ferry to Edinburgh. It was nearly four months (let it not be told in this age of railways) since they left Rome.

The Rev. Mr. Gordon, who was procurator at Edinburgh, gave a hearty welcome to our travellers who had so successfully journeyed. Bishop Smith was absent in the north, and so it devolved on Mr. Gordon to sanction the stay at Edinburgh of the

newly-ordained priests, for a few days, in order that Mr. Hay, in particular, should converse with his Protestant friends and possibly do away with some of their prejudices. His father, who was dead, had consented to his becoming a priest, and his sister and many other relatives showed no dislike to him on account of his choice, but earnestly desired that he might remain with them for some time. It was not considered prudent that three priests, strangers in the country, should travel together. Accordingly, Messrs. Geddes and Guthrie left Edinburgh without Mr. Hay, and proceeded by the coast road, on foot, to Aberdeen, where they arrived in three days. Having rested a couple of days, they journeyed on to Preshome in order to meet Bishop Smith. On arriving there, Mr. Guthrie was appointed to the mission of Glenlivat and commenced duty on 1st September. Mr. Geddes was left at Preshome in charge of the Catholics in the parish of Rathven. Bishop Grant accompanied Bishop MacDonald, for a few days, on his return from the meeting at Preshome to his usual residence at Shenval, in the Cabrach.

Mr. Hay, in writing to the Abbate Grant, gives a very favourable account of his journey. "It was without the least trouble or molestation any where." "My friends and relations have all received me with

the greatest affection ; even those who I least imagined would do so." He adds that it was on their account that he was allowed to remain a few weeks at Edinburgh. Bishop Grant was now relieved from the burden of parochial duties, and all the bishops from their anxiety concerning the young priests. It was now arranged that Mr. Hay should have the charge of the Catholics of Rathven, Bishop Grant, however, still remaining with him at Preshome. This was a less difficult mission than the more mountainous districts, and was considered more suitable for an ecclesiastic who, in early life, had been accustomed to a convenient way of living. Mr. Hay had an opportunity of conversing with Bishop Smith for a few days before he left Edinburgh. He then proceeded direct to Banffshire by the Highland road over "the cairn," and, reached Strathbogie in time for Sunday, 21st October. In the beginning of next month he took up his residence with Bishop Grant at Preshome. Meanwhile, his friend, Mr. Geddes, had been appointed to succeed Mr. Thomas Brockie in the mission of the Cabrach and had fixed his residence at Shenval with Bishop MacDonald, who still lived there, in strict seclusion, under the name of Scott. The Cabrach mission was a serious charge. It comprised the Catholic population scattered over the parishes of Cabrach, Glass, Mortlach, together with

the neighbourhood of Huntly, Skirdustan and adjacent places. Later, in 1760, he was directed to extend his pastoral care to the Catholics of Strathisla near the town of Keith. Thus, to the four original stations, Shenval, in Auchendown, Beldorny and Aberlour on the Spey, it became his duty to add a fifth at Achanachy. These stations were visited by turns on successive Sundays.

Mr. Hay's mission, although more compact, was also very extensive. Under the name of St. Peter's, Rathven, it extended from the town of Cullen east to west, about ten miles, along the southern shore of the Moray Frith, to a small brook, called the burn of Tynet. Its southern boundary is near the town of Keith. It comprised nearly the whole of the district known as the Enzie, and so celebrated, for over two centuries, in the history of Catholicity in Scotland. The majority of its population have always been Catholic. In the comparatively short time from the beginning of last century, it has given seven Bishops to the Catholic Church in Scotland.

The Enzie being a very fertile country, its population still continues to be numerous, notwithstanding the system now prevalent of forming several small holdings into large farms. Thus, many neat cottages and happy homes have been swept away, causing to be regretted the kindly patriarchal rule which prevailed of old, "*Barbarus has segetes!*"

CAP. XVIII.

PRESHOME PLUNDERED—THE REV. JOHN GODSMAN—ARRESTED ; BUT SPEEDILY LIBERATED—IN CHARGE OF RATHVEN AS WELL AS BELLIE—MOVED ABOUT, PRIVATELY, DRESSED LIKE A FARMER—SAID MASS AND PREACHED IN BARNES; CHIEFLY AT MIDNIGHT—REMARKABLE RECONCILIATION WITH THE SOLDIERS—IN 1747 RESUMED HIS PRACTICE OF CELEBRATING IN A FIXED PLACE, WHICH WAS A LARGE COTTAGE—OVER 60 YEARS OF AGE WHEN MR. HAY JOINED HIM IN 1759—REPUTED “A MAN OF APOSTOLIC SANCTITY”—TWO CENTURIES EARLIER, AN ANCESTOR OF MR. HAY A PARSON IN THE SAME DISTRICT—MR. HAY’S DEFERENCE TO AND AFFECTION FOR THE BISHOP—GREAT WANT OF BOOKS—SPIRITUAL PRIVATION OF CATHOLICS—AN UNCOMFORTABLE HOUSE—PROSPECTS OF RELIGION IMPROVING—MUCH STILL TO TRY THE PATIENCE AND EXHAUST THE PHYSICAL POWERS OF THE CLERGY—EXTRAORDINARY SICK CALL—ILLNESS OF BISHOP GRANT—MR. HAY AN ADMINISTRATOR—A FRIEND OF MR. HAY—JOHN M’DONALD COADJUTOR TO HIS UNCLE, BISHOP HUGH M’DONALD—MR. GEDDES ILL—STATE OF THE SEMINARIES—MR. GEDDES, PRESIDENT AT SCALAN—HIS MERIT—LIST OF EASTER AND CHRISTMAS COMMUNICANTS—BISHOP GRANT AT ABERDEEN—DEATH OF CARDINAL SPINELLI—HIS KINDNESS TO THE SCOTCH CLERGY.

For some time before the insurrection of 1745, Preshome had enjoyed comparative quiet. Whatever facilities it possessed were, on occasion of the ill-fated expedition, ruthlessly torn away. The brutal soldiery, who beat and butchered a few starved Highlanders at Culloden, pillaged the Church of Preshome, carried the Books and vestments to Cullen and burned them in the market place. Since that time till the arrival of Mr. Hay, the congregation had assembled in a small room in the greatest privacy.

The pastorate of the neighbouring parish of Bellie was, at this time, and for ten years longer, held by the Rev. John Godsmán. From our earliest boyhood we have been accustomed to hear this worthy priest spoken of as a living saint. His mission was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin. He was born in 1698. Although his parents were Protestants, living in a fen which they held of the Duke of Gordon, he often, when still very young, was present at Mass and felt strongly attracted towards the Catholic religion. But, how or why he could not tell. The priest at Fochabers, Rev. Mr. Hacket, took notice of him one day, was at pains to instruct him, finding him intelligent and tractable, and received him in due course, into the Catholic Church when he was about eleven years of age. Showing afterwards a warm desire to be a priest, application was made to

the Rev. Charles Stewart for admission into the monastery of St. James in 1719. This could not be, however, as Abbot Stewart considered his age too great. He was, therefore, sent to Rome the following year. Mr. Godsman and his companions travelled through Germany in order to avoid a pestilence which was, at the time, raging in France. They reached the Scotch College of Rome, on January 21st, 1721. It was not long till Mr. Godsman became a favourite with his superiors, and particularly one of them, F. Wolfe, an Irishman and prefect of studies. When of age and his studies completed, he was ordained priest in the year 1730. When at Bordeaux, on his return to Scotland, he engaged for his passage with a Presbyterian shipmaster. This person was so won by his conversation and conduct on board, that he refused to charge him any fare. Arriving at Edinburgh early in August, it became his duty to celebrate mass in the lodgings of the titular Duchess of Perth. Having visited his friends in the Enzie, he was appointed in October to the mission of Dee Side. He was on the best of terms there with the neighbouring priests who were Jesuits. It was not long till Bellie, becoming vacant, 1734, he was removed to that mission. He dwelt for some time alone in the village of Auchenhalrig, adjoining the Park of Gordon Castle. Considering the times,

it is noticeable that the Duke of Gordon's factor, Mr. Alexander Todd, a Protestant, boarded, until his marriage, with Mr. Godsman. Soon after Mr. Godsman built for himself a cottage at Auchenhalrig. This cottage still forms part of the priest's residence there. Three years after he undertook the mission of Bellie, he was afflicted by a severe attack of palsy, which disabled him for a whole year. During the disastrous time consequent on the defeat of Prince Charles, Mr. Godsman was arrested and conveyed a prisoner to Fochabers. There being no charge against him, he was immediately liberated. Additional duty was laid on Mr. Godsman in consequence of the prominent part Rev. J. Gordon of Preshome had taken on the side of the Prince. He could not appear safely in public for a long time after Culloden. Mr. Godsman, accordingly, was obliged to minister to the people of Rathven as well as those of Bellie. In his missionary excursions, he wore the dress of a farmer, celebrated Mass and preached in barns, chiefly at midnight, in order to elude the search of the soldiers. He scarcely ever slept in his own house; but changed from one cottage or farm house to another, in the more hilly places.

At length, the officers stationed at Fochabers, learning on the testimony of both Catholics and

Protestants, that Mr. Godsman was not only inoffensive, but lived like a saint, arranged so as to secure him against all further molestation. They concerted with him to meet them, one night, at supper, in the house of a respectable tradesman of Fochabers, whose wife was a Catholic. The officer in charge asked Mr. Godsman, "What he was doing that made him so obnoxious to the Government?" Mr. Godsman replied that "he only said his prayers and endeavoured to make his neighbours good Christians." "But, you pray against the King," rejoined the officer. "No sir, I pray for the welfare of all men; of all whom the earth bears and the heavens cover." The officer declared himself satisfied with this assurance, advised Mr. Godsman to be as quiet and cautious as he had hitherto been, and promised to molest him no more. In the summer of 1747, Mr. Godsman resumed his usual practice of holding public worship in a fixed place. This place was, at the time, nothing better than a large cottage. For a year more, the hour of meeting was still midnight. When Mr. Hay joined him in the Enzie missions, this venerable man was over sixty years of age, and was considered by all who knew him "a man of apostolic sanctity."

Mr. Hay's arrival at Preshome in 1759 was a great relief to Bishop Grant. It may be mentioned

here, as a remarkable circumstance, that the recently ordained priest commenced his career, which was destined to be so brilliant, in the same district in which his namesake and collateral ancestor had officiated, as a parson, two centuries before.

Mr. Hay, as appears from his correspondence, deferred greatly to his superior, Bishop Smith, and entertained for him sincere affection. From a letter to this prelate it appears that he was much concerned on account of the want of books of instruction for his people of Rathven. "There is a great want," he writes, "of proper books in the hands of the people.

My heart bleeds to see the effect of that want. There are several of those pamphlets which I saw with you, such as, 'The grounds of the Catholic religion;' 'The Roman Catholic's reasons;' 'Short History of the Reasons;' 'Fenelon's thoughts, etc,' which might be of unspeakable advantage had we numbers of them. It would be a great charity to send us as many as you could of these pieces."

Mr. Hay laments in the same letter the spiritual privations to which Catholics are subjected owing to the tracts of country to which each priest is obliged to attend, being so extensive, and quotes the sad case of a man in Strathisla, who died "without any help or assistance."

In addition to the labours and fatigue of a missionary life, Mr. Hay was obliged to put up with the discomforts of an old and greatly damaged house. Extensive repairs were necessary, but, in the state of the country, at the time, could not be undertaken. Rev. J. Godsman, writing to Bishop Smith, says: "As he (Mr. Hay) has been accustomed with better accommodation, I fear the room he is in, which is that above Bishop Grant's, is so cold in winter that it will impair his health. The flooring, ceiling and casements of the windows are so much worn that the wind and cold come in every way. I really think he is never warm in this weather but when in bed." Mr. Hay himself says, in a letter to Bishop Smith, dated January 1st, 1760, "I am very sensible of the danger of making great repairs; and, therefore, we shall do the best we can, with as little noise as possible; and I hope Almighty God, will, through your good prayers, hinder any bad consequences from the coldness of my habitation."

It afforded much comfort to Mr. Hay during the hardships of his first winter, to receive a most friendly and encouraging letter from the good Cardinal Protector at Rome. His Eminence congratulates his young friend on the improving prospects of religion in Scotland, and promises, ere long, to supply the scarcity of missionary priests, a subject which, he

assures Mr. Hay, is very near his heart. The kindly prelate concludes by exhorting Mr. Hay "to assure himself, more and more, of his good will;" and adds: "I take leave of you in the Lord, with my paternal benediction.

Yours most affectionately,

G. CARD. SPINELLI."

Many discomforts attended the life of a missionary priest in Scotland at the time of which we are writing. Not the least of these was the very poor house-keeping to which economy compelled. It reminds one of primitive times and of the desert life to which persecution drove so many of the early Christians, to find a bishop contenting himself with such board as he could have for forty shillings a quarter, sitting by the same fire, using the same candle and sharing the same room with a parish priest. Yet in such humble ways did Bishop Grant and Mr. Hay appear to take delight. There was more still to try the patience, consume the time and exhaust the physical powers of the missionary priest. Sick calls were most frequently from a distance, requiring a journey of many miles over moors, by bad roads, through drifting snow, at times, and in the severest winter weather. Mr. Hay found it necessary to have a pony for such journeys. In relating incidents in which he was concerned, he was careful to avoid all mention of himself. On one

occasion, however, he forgot his usual caution and began his narrative with the words: "When I was priest at Preshome." He immediately recollected himself. But it was too late; so he proceeded to tell the company that, one evening, about eleven o'clock, when every one had gone to bed, and he was himself finishing his prayers before retiring, a loud rapping, as if with a heavy whip handle at the outer door, made him start to his feet. The servants also were roused and went to the door; but, when it was opened, no one could be seen. Search was made in all directions, round the house, outside. But still nobody could be found. Mr. Hay was too agitated by this extraordinary occurrence to be able to sleep. At two o'clock in the morning, the rapping was repeated. Mr. Hay dressed with all possible haste, believing, surely, it must be a call to some sick person. He was not mistaken. On opening the door, he found a man with two saddle horses, waiting to conduct him to a lady who was dying, at a distance of twenty miles.

The continued illness of Bishop Grant occasioned great trouble to Mr. Hay. During the whole of the winter, 1759-60, the worthy prelate was ailing, and, sometimes, so severely, that his life was despaired of. Mr. Hay's medical treatment, together with that of Dr. Donaldson, the Bishop's regular physician,

proved very successful. But, notwithstanding, it was considered that Bishop Grant could not survive any length of time, unless he was removed to a more southern country, where, also, he could have more comforts and better attendance. Accordingly, he set out for Edinburgh, travelling by easy stages. The change greatly improved his health; and this improvement continued throughout the whole winter.

While doing all in his power to promote the spiritual good of his flock, Mr. Hay, at the same time, gained the esteem and affection of his Protestant neighbours by his moderation and benevolence. He gave medical advice and dispensed medicines to the poor of all denominations without distinction. With only one exception, there was never any controversial dissension in the parish. The one case which occurred of a self-willed young man whose father was a Catholic, aspiring to make a religion for himself, was conducted so prudently, that it led to no breach of the general harmony.

Mr. Hay was distinguished by great activity, tact, and business habits. All this, together with his superior address, won for him the confidence of his superiors and brethren. And thus it was that he came to be appointed one of the administrators of the temporal affairs of the mission. It had been the

custom to assign this office to seven or eight of the senior missionary priests since its creation by Bishop Nicholson in 1701. Mr. Hay's colleagues, Rev. John Godsman and Rev. William Reid, met him at Preshome, where, together with him, they addressed a joint letter to Cardinal Spinelli, dated, as was the custom, "*ad ostium specæ*." Later, Mr. George Gordon, another administrator, signed the letter at Aberdeen. The following month, Mr. Hay presented to Bishop Smith an abstract of his correspondence with Father Bruni, S. J., his former prefect of studies, on the subject of preparing youths for the Scotch College of Rome. Not long after, June 19, Mr. Hay wrote to the Procurator at Edinburgh, Mr. Gordon, in the name of Bishop Macdonald, then with him at Preshome, pointing out several material errors in the accounts of the mission, in a clear, business like, but deferential manner. Such letters Mr. Hay wrote in so masterly a way as to lead to the supposition that such like composition must have been a favourite study with him. He was not without private correspondents. One of the most valued of these was a lay gentleman, Mr. Alex Craw, formerly of Haughhead, but latterly resident in Edinburgh.

The clergy of the mission were now blessed to enjoy somewhat more peaceful times. This was more particularly the case in the Lowlands. Bishop

Macdonald, whose family had taken an active part in the disastrous expedition of Prince Charles, was still an object of pursuit in the Highlands. This made it necessary for him to reside the greater part of the time out of his own district. He was now aged, greatly broken down by the fatigues of his office and the hardships incident to the disturbed times. He felt, in the circumstances, the want of a coadjutor. Having applied to Cardinal Spinelli, this kindly prelate immediately complied with his request; and desired him to name, according to the received form, three priests, from whom the Holy Father might select one for the Episcopal office. The choice fell on the Rev. John Macdonald, the Bishop's nephew, who had been, for some time, a companion of Mr. Hay at Rome. Mr. McDonald had returned from his studies at the Scotch College of Rome in the year 1753; and was, from that time, engaged in the missions of Scotland. Lochaber was the first scene of his labours; and he was in charge of South Uist when his appointment to the coadjutorship took place. He retired to Shenval in order to prepare for consecration, under the guidance of his uncle. He was consecrated Bishop at Preshome, under the title of Tiberiopolis, by his venerable uncle, who was assisted, on the occasion, by Bishops Smith and Grant.

A little later, in the winter of 1761-2, Mr. Geddes was sorely tried by illness which he caught in the stormy wilds of the Cabrach. In the spring he had an attack of spitting of blood. Mr. Hay travelled all the way from Preshome in order to visit his friend and prescribe for him. Bleeding was had recourse to, as was the practice at the time, and not without success.

During the few preceding years, the ranks of the missionary priests were greatly thinned by death. The Rev. John Gordon at Huntly, and the Rev. George Gordon, who enjoyed a great reputation for piety, were much lamented in the Lowlands. In the other district, also, several good priests were called to their reward; among the rest a very valuable missionary, the Rev. Æneas MacDonald. In the whole Highlands there remained only three priests capable of doing duty. In some of the most destitute parts of his vicariate, Bishop Hugh Macdonald was on this account under the necessity of undergoing the labours of a missionary priest, notwithstanding the great risk to which he was thereby exposed.*

The solicitude of the Bishop was now directed to the state of the seminaries, which was anything but satisfactory. Ever since the affair of 1745, the

*If discovered, death might have been the consequence, as such was the penalty for a person under sentence of banishment, who returned home.

Government had so strictly watched the proceedings of the Catholics, that it was found to be impossible to make any provision, by means of seminaries, for the ecclesiastical wants of the mission. Bishop Macdonald did all that could be done as regarded the Highland district. He boarded a few boys in private houses near Fochabers, caused them to attend the common schools and receive spiritual instruction from the Rev. Mr. Godsman. This was nearly all that could be done for the benefit of the Highland vicariate. In the Lowlands there was a seminary, Scalan, which has already been mentioned. It was, however, in a very humble condition; and, in the evil days, could not be improved. It had some success under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. Duthie. On his departure to become prefect of studies at the Scotch College at Paris, and afterwards missionary apostolic at Huntly, Scalan lost, for a time, all its efficiency. This state of things continued till September, 1762, when the Rev. Mr. Geddes was recalled from Shenval and appointed president. This worthy priest, who is always highly spoken of whenever we meet with his name, had now for three years been engaged, notwithstanding his wretched health, in a mission than which there was none more laborious in the Lowland vicariate. Bishop Grant bore testimony in glowing terms to his distinguished

services there. "He had not," says the Bishop, "been fully three years in that country (Auchendown) at the time of his removal, when by his fervent zeal, unwearied activity, and much more by the uncommon sweetness of his temper and his exemplary life, he was the means, under God, of the conversion of nine persons, fully instructed and confirmed last August; besides many others, not sufficiently disposed for the sacraments, when he was torn from his flock, notwithstanding the universal regret of all who knew him, both Catholics and Protestants, who, in spite of their prejudices against his principles, esteemed and loved him."

In 1762 Mr. Hay commenced keeping an account of his communicants. Their names, in his handwriting, are still preserved at Preshome, arranged under the Sundays and festivals from 1762 till 1767. So lately as 1828, a woman survived in that locality who had been prepared for her first communion by Mr. Hay, while officiating as a missionary priest at Preshome. There is a table still extant which shows the number of his communicants at Easter and Christmas during the years referred to. In addition there was every year a large Communion at the Assumption:

1762, Easter 460;

1763, Easter 460; Christmas 379.

1764, Easter 450; Christmas 332.

1765, Easter 475 ; Christmas 350.

1766, Easter 480 ; Christmas 360.

1767, Easter 520 ; Christmas 360.

Mr. Hay now earnestly suggested, founding on his medical knowledge, that Bishop Grant should pass the approaching winter at Aberdeen. This, he insisted, would greatly benefit his health. The Bishop accordingly, took a lodging in the house of a Mrs. Thomas Young.

There must now be chronicled a heavy loss which the mission sustained in 1763 by the death of Cardinal Spinelli. About ten years previously he found it torn by internal dissensions and opposed externally by the arbitrary and persecuting Government of the time. The latter evil, through the Divine goodness, was now greatly mitigated. The wise measures of the deceased Cardinal, firmly persevered in, had almost entirely restored peace and union among the missionary priests. This happy result was chiefly brought about by discouraging the cabals and intrigues of certain parties that were not over friendly to the secular clergy in general. Cardinal Spinelli entertained a warm regard for the Scotch Bishops and clergy, extending his kindness even to the students. He also contributed or procured considerable pecuniary assistance to the mission and the seminaries. For these reasons the venerable prelate

is justly numbered among the best benefactors of the Catholic Church in Scotland. Such was the affection entertained for him by the clergy that his death was felt by them as a personal loss.

CAP. XIX.

ALBANI, CARDINAL PROTECTOR—HIS INJUDICIOUS MEASURE—DIFFICULT TO MAKE A CENSUS OF THE CATHOLICS—THEIR NUMBER DIMINISHED—18,000 COMMUNICANTS—NUMBER OF PRIESTS IN BOTH DISTRICTS—WHERE EDUCATED—SPECIAL MENTION OF MESSRS. HAY AND GODSMAN—DUTIES OF ROMAN AGENT—REV. G. GORDON, PROCURATOR—BISHOP GRANT DANGEROUSLY ILL—MR. HAY'S GREAT LABOURS—HIS ZEAL FOR ECCLESIASTICAL EDUCATION—THE OLD CHURCH OF PRESHOME RESTORED—FALSE ALARM—MR. F. MENZIES AT ACHANACHY—PROPOSAL TO GIVE MR. HAY THE CHARGE OF DOUAI COLLEGE—HIS COMMUNICANTS, 759—24 CONVERTS—DEARTH OF CLERGY—MISSION FUNDS—RENEWAL OF PERSECUTION IN THE HIGHLANDS—THE CATHOLICS STEADFAST—BISHOP HUGH M'DONALD DESIRES THAT EACH PRIEST SHOULD HAVE A HOUSE TO HIMSELF.

Through the interest of the ex-king (Chevalier St. George) Cardinal Albani was now appointed Protector of Scotland. The Scotch had very little to thank their would-be Monarch for in this appointment. Albani was the very opposite of the good

Spinelli. It cannot be said that he was unjust ; but he knew no mercy. His first measure was as hard, as in the circumstances of the time and country, it was impolitic. He made a condition of the payment of the legacies left to the seminaries by the late Cardinal, which certainly was not in Spinelli's will. His right to do so, according to our idea of last wills and testaments, may well be questioned. He intimated to the Bishops that the legacies in question would not be paid until a full and exact account or census of the state of seminaries, and of religion in general, should be made out and returned to Rome. As Cardinal Protector, he may have been entitled to command such a measure ; but we fail to see that he could make the execution of it a condition of the payment of Spinelli's bequests. It was highly impolitic, besides, as it was calculated to arouse the jealousy of the Government which still, through the penal laws, held the lash of persecution over the heads of the Catholic people. The Scotch Catholics were so widely scattered, moreover, especially in the Highlands, that it was exceedingly difficult and not without danger, to obtain such a report. The Bishops, however, set to work, and a return of the statistics of the Lowland District was made that same year. But such was the difficulty in the Highlands, where there were only four secular and three Jesuit

priests, that it was impossible to enumerate the population scattered throughout the missions till the year 1764. It must be stated that Propaganda also required this census, as a condition of continuing their annual subsidy.

The report of the Bishops made manifest how disastrous to the Catholics the expedition of Prince Charles had been. Their numbers were diminished, in consequence, by at least 1,000. The Government soldiery, the executions, voluntary exile, and transportation to the American colonies, had reduced, to that extent, their numbers in the years 1745 and 1746. When war with France broke out in 1756 there was another loss of population, not fewer than 6,000 Scotch Catholics being then, as was calculated, draughted into the army for military service, chiefly in the East and West Indies. The number of communicants in the whole country, as stated in the report, was 18,000, those of the Highlands being double those of the Lowland vicariate. It was otherwise as regarded the number of secular priests in each district, there being only four in the Highlands, while there were twelve in the Lowlands. The latter district possessed, in addition, ten Jesuit Fathers, the former only three. The greater number of the secular clergy had been educated at the Scotch College of Rome, as had been also the Bishop of the Highland District and his

coadjutor, together with the coadjutor of the Lowlands.

The report further shows that at the time it was despatched, Mr. Hay, in addition to his mission of Rathven in the Enzie, was charged with the still more laborious mission of Strath-isla, of which Keith is the chief town. It was, at the time, without any other pastor. It is noticeable that in the report of the Bishops, Messrs. Hay and Godsman are specially spoken of as being both worthy sons of the Scotch College of Rome, distinguished by great piety, prudence and zeal "according to knowledge."

We now find Mr. Hay, September, 1763, acting as secretary to a full meeting of all the bishops and administrators at Edinburgh. Abbate Grant, from the nature of his position, was obliged to devote much of his time to the entertainment of the numerous British visitors of distinction who came to visit the Papal city. This led to a certain neglect, as agent of the interests of his constituents in Scotland. Mr. Hay, in the name of the administrators, wrote a vigorous but friendly letter, complaining of the agent, and enclosing a copy of the original rules of the administration, framed in 1701, regarding the duties of the Procurator at Rome. Abbate Grant replied, and having made a full explanation and promised amendment, Mr. Hay, whose sincere regard for the agent had never ceased since his student

days at Rome, recommended that the administrators should adopt mild measures in regard to him. To this they finally agreed. At this meeting, also, they appointed a new Procurator for the mission in Scotland, the Rev. G. Gordon, of Stobhall, Mr. Alexander Gordon retiring from the office.

It was a busy time with Mr. Hay on his return home ; and his labours were not lessened by a letter which he received from Bishop Smith, requiring him to repair to Aberdeen, where Bishop Grant was lying dangerously ill. It was thought that perhaps the life of the coadjutor depended on the advice which Mr. Hay should give. However this may have been, the Bishop's health greatly improved on occasion of Mr. Hay's visit. A favourable report was sent to Bishop Smith by Mr. Hay himself, who, in the same letter, adds : " I have been so hurried about with calls to Banff, Strathisla, Aberdeen, etc., and a crowd of business of one kind or another, at home, that since Bishop Macdonald left the Enzie, I do not remember to have been but two whole days at home all that time." Many years later he was heard to say that his fatigue, at this time, on Sundays, was so great that, from exhaustion, he was scarcely able to get home. Notwithstanding his engrossing occupations, such was his zeal for promoting ecclesiastical education, that, he took two boys from the Highlands

who had given some proof of a clerical vocation, to study with him at Preshome and prepare for a foreign college. This proceeding came to the knowledge of his Protestant neighbours who, looking upon it as the commencement of a seminary, which was against the laws, raised such a clamour, that he was obliged to abandon his laudable design.

Notwithstanding Mr. Hay's unceasing and exhaustive labours, he continued to enjoy good health throughout the winter, as he himself states in a letter to Bishop Smith, of date March 1st, 1764.

As there was only poor accommodation for the congregation at Preshome, Mr. Hay was anxious to restore the ancient chapel of the Craigs, which had never been used since it was pillaged by the Government troops in 1746. Much difficulty, however, was anticipated; and accordingly, Mr. Hay proceeded with the utmost caution and prudence. His first step was to request the influence of his relative, Hay of Rannes, with the minister of the place. Mr. Hay and his family entered cheerfully into the plan of restoration, and, without difficulty, obtained from Mr. Grant, the minister, a cordial promise that he would not only throw no impediments in the way, but would assist with all his power. He began by removing everything about the place which belonged to himself; and said that if any notice was taken

of the undertaking in the Presbytery, he would do all he could to prevail on his fellow-Presbyterians to overlook the proceeding. He undertook, also, to give Mr. Hay timely warning if the Presbytery should decide unfavourably to him. He thus showed, in a very marked way, his appreciation of Mr. Hay's prudence and peaceable demeanour. There was much deliberation as to whether the arrival of the young Duke of Gordon should be awaited, as he was proprietor of the ground on which the Church stood, and could effectually put a stop to all operations. At first, a few men were set to work repairing the old building, of which the walls still remained, as a monument worthy of being preserved, placing a roof on it, etc. Meanwhile, the sentiments of the neighbours could be ascertained, as the work would necessarily attract attention. Then if no serious objections were made to the Catholics resuming possession of their old Church, it might be opened, at first, on Sunday afternoons, for the catechism class, or the Sunday school, and, afterwards, oftener, as they found encouragement. There would, as a further step, be prayers on some half-holiday, but, without closing the meeting at Preshome, till full possession was secured. Whilst all this was proceeding, friends of the Duke of Gordon were engaged to represent to him that, by favouring

the restoration, he would gain the good will of his numerous Catholic tenants, on occasion of his first residence among them. For this end, it was urged, he had merely to overlook their proceeding in regard to the old Church. Labours, so wisely directed, could not well fail to succeed; and the design of Mr. Hay was fully carried out by the end of the following year. On December 3rd, 1765, Mr. Hay wrote to Bishop Smith that their chapel (Church) was now in good order, and an altar erected, with which all were pleased. A circumstance may now be mentioned which shows that Catholics were still in dread of Government persecution. One Sunday, Mr. Hay was standing at the altar in the recently repaired Church, ready to begin Mass, when word was brought to him by some one who had been appointed to keep watch outside, as was still the custom, that a soldier was seen approaching. Mr. Hay immediately withdrew into the adjoining wood; but was speedily informed that the disturbance was caused by a false alarm. The bright scarlet waistcoat of a worthy citizen of Fochabers, the father of the late Rev. G. Mathieson, had been mistaken for the British uniform. The panic, of course, subsided and Mass was proceeded with.

The temporary vacancy of several neighbouring missions now added considerably to the labours of Mr.

Hay. He, in consequence, requested F. Alex. Menzies, who succeeded Mr. Geddes in the Cabrach, to take the station at Achanachy, near Keith, off his hands. F. Menzies replied: "I am very sensible how fatiguing it must be for you to serve both the Enzie, Grange and Achanachy; and you judged well that I would incline to see my friends at Achanachy as often as I can." (March 30th, 1764.)

An occasion now occurred on which the wonderful ability of Mr. Hay for missionary duty was recognized. The Scotch Bishops were about to recover their college at Douai, in consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits from France; and it was in contemplation to appoint Mr. Hay to the charge of this institution. Rev. G. J. Gordon, one of the senior missionary priests, opposed this proposal. He speaks of Mr. Hay in the following eulogistic terms: "I have very seriously and attentively considered the proposals about a Master for the House of Douai, if it is obtained. As to Mr. Hay, I think him much better fitted for being more useful as a labourer at home, by his clever, active spirit and great qualifications for doing greater good in the country, than in the narrower sphere of a shop (college) and a few prentices (students). Besides, the place now occupied could not be so advantageously filled by any other labourer (missionary priest) we have at present. Moreover, it is of no small consequence

to have so near the Duke of Gordon's door (whose inclinations towards us are yet much in the dark), a person that is much loved and esteemed by every one, and has gained kindly many friends among the better sort, who may be of use to protect him if any danger was threatened. In fine, which with me is of great weight, he is, in my opinion, the only fittest person, among all the missionary priests, to be made a coadjutor in due time, being neither too young, nor too old, and having abundance of qualifications, both natural and acquired, with much zeal and a great fund of piety. . . . So that it would be very unadvisable to let him go out of the country, or from the place wherein he is settled." Dated Aberdeen, March 12th, 1765.

Bishop Smith, in replying to this letter, alluded to another reason for retaining Mr. Hay in the country, insisting that his medical knowledge was absolutely necessary for preserving Bishop Grant. The idea of his appointment was, therefore, abandoned; and Mr. Robert Grant sent to govern the seminary.

In Lent, 1765, Mr. Hay sent a report of the state of his mission to Propaganda, through Bishop Smith. The number of his communicants was 959, probably including those of a neighbouring mission which he had to attend to at the time. Within the preceding five years, twenty-nine new communicants

had been received into the Church, or were in course of preparation.

Bishop MacDonald's report had awakened the Cardinal to a sense of the want of clergy in Scotland. Cardinal Catelli, who succeeded Spinelli in Propaganda, felt more particularly this want; and the Cardinals of Propaganda held a meeting, on this important subject, with the Protector, Albani, and Cardinal York, who was now Bishop of Frascati. Time only, through the agency of well-directed seminaries, could provide the much-desired remedy.

There were many reasons for desiring a greater number of priests, and the want of them was more felt in the Lowland than in the Highland district. In the Lowlands there were several noble families, each of whom required a missionary priest to themselves such as Traquair, Drummond and Stobhall. In towns where the spirit of persecution still existed, sometimes more, sometimes less active, like a smouldering fire which rises or falls with the changeful gale, a greater number of priests were necessary for supplying the spiritual wants of their flocks, because they were obliged to live very privately, almost in total concealment. In the Lowlands, also, although the number of Catholics was less than in the Highlands, they were more scattered and mixed among Protestants, with whom they were necessarily in

relation, and, consequently, in greater danger of perversion than their brethren in the Highlands; and hence the greater need of pastoral superintendence. It was manifest also, from experience, that wherever a priest was supported, religion prospered, and its decline followed as soon as he was removed. There were several parts of the country where the "Reformation" was not deeply rooted, in which the settlement of a learned and zealous priest might be attended with much good. Such arguments and statements were laid before the Cardinals through the Bishops, and inclined them more and more to give all the assistance in their power.

Meanwhile, Mr. Hay insisted much on a strict investigation and account of the funds of the mission, recommending strongly an endeavour to obtain further assistance. The Bishops, at the same time, were preparing a powerful appeal to Propaganda, and collecting details and opinions from all the more influential priests in order to support their claim for more aid, in both men and money. Mr. Hay wrote once more to Bishop Smith, discussing the whole subject, and earnestly advocating a frank disclosure of all the resources of the mission fund, such as they were. Bishop Smith, in a notice of Mr. Hay's letter, which he communicated to Mr. G. J. Gordon, April 20th, 1765, says: "He generally writes very judi-

ciously. But, sometimes, pushes things too far."

Not only was there, as we have just seen, a spirit of persecution in the towns of the Lowlands; this amiable quality appeared anew in the Highlands. It broke out with renewed vigour in the remoter parts of the western Highlands. The Factor on the forfeited estates, while collecting the rents at the end of the year 1764, gave notice at the instigation of some of the more violent ministers, to all the tenants, that unless they began immediately to attend public worship in the parish church, they must all leave their farms at the next term. This was a trial of their fidelity to their religion of no ordinary severity. On the one hand, ruin and starvation were imminent if they refused to comply, their farms being their only source of subsistence; whilst on the other, they had lately enjoyed but few opportunities of instruction and encouragement in the practice of their religious duties, owing to the scarcity of missionary priests. Notwithstanding all this, these good people, in the hour of trial, were not wanting in that spirit of Christian fortitude, which animates to martyrdom. They declared to a man that they would never renounce their religion. Government, it appears, had not sanctioned such extreme measures, for, when the case was represented to them, they caused matters to be accommodated without disadvantage to the injured

Catholics. It was still necessary, however, for the Catholics to observe the greatest caution and prudence. This is further shown by a communication of Bishop Hugh MacDonald to the Scotch agent at Rome. He gives a full description of the necessities of his mission and of the impossibility of opening a seminary. This was due, partly to the positive want of any one to preside over it, and partly to the strict watch over every movement of his by a number of the ministers who, being without congregations, had nothing better to do than to act as spies on their Catholic neighbours, and by their wicked contrivances, bring them into trouble. "Though the present movement," says the Bishop, "be visible in that respect, yet under agents, instigated by our enemies, even execute the laws that are in force against us; for which reason we must act wisely and step by step for fear of raising a new storm."

The Bishop, nevertheless, was determined, as soon as there was any possibility of doing so, to establish a seminary. In the meantime, he sent his "Prentices" to a distance, under the care and direction of Mr. Godsman and Mr. Hay, in the Enzie. He had applied to the latter for a character of the two boys supported by Cardinal Spinell's legacy, which had been presented to the Protector with the Bishop's

attestation. It shows both the poverty of the mission and the value, of money at the time, that Bishop MacDonald gave it, as his opinion, that a missionary could not have less for a decent maintenance than £20 in the year. He looked forward, hopefully, to the time when each pastor should have a dwelling of his own, however humble, to which he might retire to recollect himself and compose his dissipated spirits in prayer and study ; for nothing but danger could result from his going continually from one house to another, with mean accommodation, and no opportunity of seclusion, as was then the case with Highland missionary priests.

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Dawson, Aeneas McDonell,
1810-1894.
The Catholics of
Scotland from 1593 :
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